Travels In The Caucasus And Georgia

Performed In The Years 1806 And 1808, By Command Of The Russian Government

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JULIUS VON KLAPROTH

Travels In The Caucasus And Georgia

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TRAVELS

IN

THE CAUCASUS AND GEORGIA,

PERFORMED IN THE YEARS 1807 AND 1808,

BY COMMAND OF

THE RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT,

BY

JULIUS VON KLAPROTH,

AULIC COUNSELLOR TO HIS MAJESTY THE EMPEROR OF RUSSIA,

MEMBER OF THE ACADEMY OF SCIENCES OF ST. PETERSBURGH, ETC.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN

BY

F. SHOBERL.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR HENRY COLBURN,

BRITISH AND FOREIGN PUBLIC LIBRARY, CONDUIT STREET, HANOVER SQUARE;

AND SOLD BY O. GOLDIE, EDINBURGH; AND J. CUMMING, DUBLIN.

1814.

Printed by Richard and Arthur Taylor, Shoe Lane, London.

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The ample preliminary details given by the Author of this work respecting the motives of his expedition, the plan which he pursued, and the labours of preceding travellers, render any observations on that subject from me wholly unnecessary. There are, however, one or two points on which I shall beg leave to offer a few remarks.

In the perusal of this volume, the reader will not fail to remark the inconsistencies in the mode of spelling several of the names, which he will probably be disposed to charge to the account of negligence either in the printer or the translator. I can attest on the contrary that a jealous care has been exercised by both in regard to this particular, and that these inaccuracies rest solely with the Author, who, perhaps unaccustomed to the task of correcting the press, may not have been aware of the importance of a vigilant attention to such minutiæ.

To those who have leisure and inclination for historical researches, I would suggest the examination of a question which has very forcibly occurred to me during the translation of the following sheets. It is this: whether the circumstances there related concerning the Caucasian tribes, and the Tscherkessians in particular, do not go a considerable way towards elucidating the origin of that singular people, the *Gypsies*, which notwithstanding all the inquiries hitherto made is yet involved in profound obscurity. Some striking coincidences between the habits and manners of the former and those of the latter, as delineated by Grellmann, and the very name of one of the secret languages employed by the Tscherkessians, seem, at least, on a superficial view, to confirm this conjecture, and to render a further investigation of the subject desirable.

I shall, I trust, be excused by every ingenuous mind, for having undertaken (in the note, p. 274) to vindicate the character of a community, which, had I suffered the attack upon it to pass without animadversion, would still, according to its uniform practice, have observed inviolable silence, under the conviction that it is better to *live* than to *write down* calumny. When, however, it is known that in one of the seminaries of that community I imbibed those principles which have taught me how little less criminal it is knowingly to circulate than to originate falsehood; and that with those people some of the sweetest as well as of the most painful recollections of my life are connected; it will be evident that I was imperiously called upon not to suffer so gross a misrepresentation to pass uncontradicted.

The narrative, which being deemed too long for a note has been subjoined in the form of an *Appendix*, will, it is hoped, be considered an appropriate accompaniment.

F. S.

London,
January 1, 1814.

PREFACE.

If it be asked why the narrative of these Travels has been withheld from the Public so long after my return from them; I shall reply, that the delay has been occasioned by the difficulty of distributing a work printed in Russia over the rest of the world, as most of the books published there are absolutely inaccessible to the literati of other countries. I considered it therefore indispensably necessary to publish my work in Germany, and to take the superintendence of the press upon myself. To give the reader a preliminary idea of the Plan of these Travels, I shall here subjoin a general outline of them.

In the middle of September 1807 I left St. Petersburg, and proceeded by way of Moskwa and Charkow to Old Tscherkassk, the capital of the Don Cossacks, where I continued some time for the purpose of making observations on the neighbouring Calmucks. On this occasion I completed the accounts relative to the religious customs of the followers of the Lama religion, which I had collected in Siberia and elsewhere, and which are introduced into this first volume of my Travels. In November of the same year I pursued my route to the south through the Steppe of the Don to Georgiewsk, the capital of the Government of the Caucasus, where I procured information respecting the Tscherkessians and the tribes resident on the other side of the Ckuban. I examined the ruins of Madshar on the Kuma, the mineral springs of the first Caucasian hills, and the Besch-tau; visited the English Missionary establishment on that mountain, and collected specimens of the language and antiquities of those regions.

According to my original plan, I designed first to traverse the northern part of the Caucasus; but as the Governor of the province represented that I should be incessantly detained by the rigid quaran-

tine regulations, which were not expected to be revoked till the following year, I determined to proceed the same winter to Tiflis, and repaired to Mosdok to await the departure of a numerous convoy destined for that city. At Mosdok I procured the best information relative to the Ossetes and Kists, partly from natives themselves, and partly through the obliging interference of the Jesuits, who have a house there, and officiate in the Catholic church. From Mosdok my route led through the Little Kabardah to Wladikawkas on the Terek, and thence along both sides of that river through the narrow valley in which it flows, and which was formerly closed by the celebrated Caucasian Gate. I left the Terek at the Ossetian village of Kobi, and on the 26th of December passed the snow-covered range of mountains called Gud, and likewise the Cross-mountain. Beyond these I proceeded through the valley in which the Aragwi runs to meet the Kur, by way of Ananuri to Mzchetha, the ancient capital of Georgia, whose very ruins have disappeared, and on whose site stands a convent now appropriated to the purpose of a quarantine. On the 14th of January 1808 I arrived at Tiflis, where I remained till the beginning of March, as well to procure intelligence respecting Georgia, and a translation of the History of that country, as to wait for more favourable weather to prosecute my journey. Here I formed an acquaintance with many Georgians of distinction, whose advice proved of great advantage to me in my enterprise. On the other hand, I could not help observing that the officers of the Russian Government would not give themselves the smallest trouble to promote the object of my journey, though enjoined to afford me every assistance in their power by a public order of the Minister of the Interior.

On the 5th of March I left Tiflis and returned to Mzchetha, and then proceeded by way of Muchrani and Achalgori to the source of the river Ksani, at the foot of the snowy mountain of Chochi, on the east side of which are also the sources of the Terek. I had to encounter inconceivable difficulties in my passage over the snow-clefts and precipices of this mountain before I could reach those sources.

The glory of having been the first who discovered and visited the origin of the Terek belongs therefore to me, and not to the two students of Dorpat, by whom they were some years afterwards explored. In this neighbourhood reside the Tirsau or Turso, a savage but yet hospitable race of the Ossetes, through whose country I travelled along the Terek to Kobi, and thence returned by way of the Cross-mountain, Ananuri, and Mzchetha, to Tiflis.

On the 29th of May I left that place for Thianethi, on the river Jöri in K'achethi, to collect particulars respecting the Lesgi, Tuschi, and Pschawi, and till the end of May was engaged in several tours in Georgia. I then went back through the valley of Aragwi, over the snowy mountains, to Wladikawkas; whence I once more returned on the 12th of June to Tiflis, to receive a sum of money which had arrived for me. Here I enlarged my collection with many extracts from public documents, and, having bidden farewell to Georgia, again arrived on the 14th of July at Mosdok on the Terek. At that place I left my sick attendants, crossed the river Kurp to Dshulat, a devastated town in the Little Kabardah, and visited the ruins of Tartartup, which, according to the report of the Tscherkessians, was formerly inhabited by Europeans. Here I crossed the Terek to Durdur, on the river of the same name, and thence proceeded higher up among the mountains to the Ossetian tribe of Dugor, who inhabit the banks of the Uruch to its sources. I followed its course to the snowy mountains, which I crossed, and beyond which I came to Onni in Imerethi; whence however, on account of various disturbances and hostilities against the Russians, I was obliged to return to the Dugor. From the Tscherkessian village of Elmursina I travelled by way of Baltasch to Wladikawkas, and thence through the Little Kabardah to Mosdok. I next went to Georgiewsk, again visited Madshar and part of the Ckuban; and as various circumstances prevented me from exploring the eastern portion of the Caucasus and proceeding to Daghestan, I returned in January 1809 to St. Petersburg.

It will be found that, agreeably to my Instructions, I have availed

myself of the accounts of my predecessors, and corrected their errors, in order to produce as complete a Description as possible of the Caucasus and its inhabitants. In writing these Travels, I have almost always adopted the plan of describing the country lying on both sides of the road; and the particulars respecting Ossetia and the Great Kabardah alone, have, for the sake of rendering them more perfect, been deferred to the second volume.

To conclude: I return thanks to all my friends who have supported me in this undertaking, and especially to M. von Diez, Privy-counsellor of Legation, &c., who, from his rich collection of oriental manuscripts, favoured me with the loan of the original of Abulghasi Bahadur Chan's History of the Tartars, and the Derbend-nameh. He also communicated to me his German translation of the latter, of the assistance of which I shall avail myself in the second volume.

JULIUS VON KLAPROTH.

BERLIN,
April 20, 1812.

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TRAVELS

IN

THE CAUCASUS AND GEORGIA.

INTRODUCTION.

AMONG the most remarkable but least known regions of the ancient world is the Caucasus, which with its long, snow-clad ridges separating Asia from Europe, forms, as it were, the partition between those two quarters of the globe, and whose first ranges occupy the isthmus between the Caspian and the Black Sea. History affords very few examples of the passage of this chain by wandering nations, who attempted to penetrate on this side into Upper Asia. In our times it was reserved for the Russian arms, during the glorious reign of the great Catherine, to open a way over the snowy mountains into Georgia through the Caucasian gate, Dariel, so celebrated in antiquity, which since Timur's invasion of the Caucasus had not been trodden by any military force.

At first it was only auxiliaries that Russia sent to King Irak'li (Heraclius) to assist him against the Turks and Lesgi, by whom he was hard pressed. He however soon perceived the impossibility of opposing his enemies as an independent prince for any length of time, and therefore submitted in 1783 to the crown of Russia. His imbecile son Georgi succeeded him in the government, and on his death in 1800 several Georgian princes assembled and sent deputies to St. Petersburg, to implore the emperor to make their country a Russian province, and thus to secure it from all the hostile attacks of its neighbours. Their wish was immediately complied with, and Georgia ceased from that time to be governed by native sovereigns.

In consequence of this submission, it was resolved at St. Petersburg to reduce by degrees the whole of the Caucasus, and to extend the boundaries of the empire to the river Arass (Araxes). The first step was the occupation of Daghestan and Imereti, by which the yet unsubdued mountaineers became completely surrounded by the Russian territory, and will thus probably soon be compelled to acknowledge themselves vassals of the political Colossus of the north.

No sooner was there any hope of effecting the augmentations which are actually taking place, than the court of St. Petersburg began to think of procuring accurate information relative to the Caucasus. It was not with the physical properties only of these mountains that it was desirous of becoming acquainted, but also with the manners of their inhabitants and their mutual relations. With this view it was that in 1767 the great empress issued commands that the whole empire should be visited by members of the Academy of Sciences, as well to describe the topography of its provinces as to examine their productions and inhabitants. In this important enterprise the Caucasus and Georgia fell to the share of Professor* Güldenstädt; and a fitter person could not have been chosen, for he surpassed in erudition and zeal all his colleagues sent out on similar expeditions. For three years he resided among these celebrated mountains, or in their vicinity; but a premature death unfortunately prevented him from publishing his observations himself. Much that was deficient in his manuscripts, and in particular all the observations which he had made on the manners and customs of the Caucasians during his long residence among them, he intended to supply from memory. His papers were committed to an editor who neither knew any thing of the countries which Güldenstädt had visited, nor entered upon the task with sufficient spirit to adopt as his own the work of another, or to be anxious to set it off to the best advantage. Hence it is that the part of Güldenstädt's travels which relates to the Caucasus, though indeed systematic and excellent in its plan, is not sufficiently digested, and that the names are disfigured by an incredible multitude of errors of the press, which are the more unpardonable as Güldenstädt wrote a very legible hand, and was particularly solicitous to give foreign words with accuracy.

After him Reineggs, the adventurer, visited the Caucasus in company with the Hungarian Count Kohary, who supported him, and whose heir he became in Tiflis: but his extremely superficial description of these mountains, in which half of his

* In the Imperial Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg there were formerly Professors; but since it received a different form, that title has very properly been disused.

statements are either erroneous or false, was garbled by an ignorant editor, and is in some degree useful only to such as are intimately acquainted with the Caucasus, and are capable of detecting its misrepresentations.

Several travellers have since that time visited the Caucasus and its vicinity with a view to the natural history of those regions; but we have been favoured with very few historical observations on its inhabitants, or none at all, at least through the medium of the press. The worthy Count John Potocki, who resided at the foot of the Caucasus during the winter of 1797-1798, and whom I had the honour to accompany in the Russian embassy to China, conceived that he should render a service to the sciences in causing a new expedition to be undertaken to these countries, for the purpose of elucidating their topography, history, and language alone; and he had formed so favourable an opinion of my abilities for such an enterprise, that he pitched upon me for the execution of the plan. This he communicated to the then President of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, who himself submitted it to the Academy: it was adopted, as might naturally have been expected, by that body, which likewise approved the Count's choice of me to travel in the Caucasus.

The Count himself had promised to draw up instructions for the purpose of directing the attention of the traveller to the most important points that were to be decided: as, however, one of the most learned members of the academical committee, Mr. Von Lehrberg, had more particularly directed his studies to the Caucasus, it was likely that he should best know what subjects yet remained to be explored there; and he was likewise commissioned, as well as Mr. Von Krug, to propose questions which I was to answer during my journey.

As I was not sufficiently conversant in the Russian language to express myself in it in writing, the Academy gave me permission to select one of the students educated at its expense in the Gymnasium of St. Petersburg, to accompany me as interpreter. At the recommendation of the director of that institution I chose Feodor Bobrinzow, who had some knowledge of French and German.

My dispositions for the journey would soon have been completed, had I not been obliged to await the return of His Imperial Majesty, to whose approbation it was previously necessary to submit the plan of the whole undertaking. During this interval I had time to prepare myself for it, and thoroughly study the Instructions delivered to me; which, as they constitute the ground-work of these Travels, I shall here introduce in the language of their authors.

INSTRUCTIONS.

I.

SUBJECTS OF INVESTIGATION PROPOSED BY HIS EXCELLENCY COUNT POTOCKI*.

It is with great pleasure that I undertake the task of contributing to draw up instructions for our traveller. I must however request the indulgence of the Academy: my present occupations would not allow me to produce a finished work, and these subjects are so familiar to me that I hope to be able to write on them without preparation.

The personal knowledge which I have of Mr. de Klaproth is of great advantage to me in pointing out to him what should be the drift of his observations. He is a man of letters; his mind is accustomed to reflection; we have therefore a right to expect from him such results as would not be required of a traveller who had studied only one single branch of human knowledge, for instance botany or mineralogy.

What is particularly expected of Mr. de Klaproth is this, to make us acquainted with the country. Whatever can furnish useful information ought to engage his attention. Thus, each principality of the Caucasus should occupy a place in his pages. The inhabitants of those regions have one general character, but its different shades ought not to escape him. Some are susceptible of civilization, and others not. Some are capable of being governed by Russia, and others not.

I shall soon proceed to the scientific views, which I designedly postpone because objects of utility should always have the preference.

It is expected that the Caucasus shall be better known after Mr. de Klaproth's journey than it was before. Such is its aim. As to the means, they must be left to the sagacity of the traveller. The principal persons in each district, for example, should be mentioned in his narrative; he will see them, he will converse with them, and he ought to state the opinion which he forms of them.

Concerning officers of the Russian government we request him to say as little as possible.

As I have already observed, the object is to make the Caucasus better known.

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* In the original this article is in French.—T.

On this head the utmost latitude should be given to the traveller. Olivier or Volney may be proposed to him as a model. Perhaps he will not equal, but at least he will approach them. It is certain that many calamities have happened in Russia in consequence of the want of information respecting distant provinces; so that he who furnishes correct notions concerning them renders an essential service to the state. I now proceed to the scientific part.

1. I suppose that the traveller will direct his course through the countries of the Don to Mozdok; and I suppose also that he will there seek and find Marshal de Biberstein, who has successfully devoted his attention to the ancient history of Georgia: the examination of the Georgian manuscripts, their age, and the degree of credit due to each tradition, is an important point. Mr. Biberstein has, for instance, found in the Georgian chronicles an invasion of Magogs, precisely at the same period at which Herodotus places the invasion of the Cimmerians. The elucidation of such a tradition is of greater importance to history than the discovery of a monument.

2. In like manner Mr. de Klaproth will take pains to investigate the tradition yet extant relative to the Amazons. It is among the Circassians that it must be sought. The Mermadalis, on the banks of which the Amazons resided, according to the testimony of Strabo, still retains the same name. The Circassian fabulists clearly distinguish the ancient Scythians, to whom they give the appellation of Nogays. While all these ancient traditions yet exist, they ought to be collected and preserved. It would likewise be well to collect the genealogies of the Circassian princes, which date from about the year 1500, and are both curious and historical.

3. The pagan Tartars, subject to the Circassians and the Abassas, and inhabiting the country behind them, ought to attract the notice of the traveller. These people are the purest descendants of the Scythians described by Herodotus; they deserve particular attention on account of their manners, their language, their religion, and their art of divination.

4. At Mozdok also Mr. de Klaproth will find information respecting the Ossetes, and some of those people themselves. This tribe, which calls itself *Ironi*, is of Median origin. They are Sarmato-Medes, who, having quitted the banks of the Don, settled in the country of the Misimianians. The latter, in consequence, retired to the district which they now occupy, and whence they probably expelled the Gueles or Guilan, who were there in Strabo's time, and who now inhabit Guilan, and call themselves Talischa. The traveller will collect as many Ossetian words as

possible, to compare them with the Talischan, for the latter is likewise a Median dialect.

5. In general the traveller will have at hand the fourth volume of *Stritter*, and study it continually.

6. Of all the tribes in the Caucasus the Ossetes are perhaps most susceptible of civilization, and the traveller will consider them in this point of view; he will observe what may have hitherto retarded, and what is likely to promote its progress. I was acquainted with an archbishop in that country called Cajus, who had printed a catechism and several other things in the language of the Ossetes. The traveller will inquire what success attended the archbishop's exertions: for, I repeat it, the curious should always give way to the useful, and to make the Caucasus better known ought to be the grand object.

7. A geographical difficulty, which has not been sufficiently elucidated, is that which relates to the Caspian gates and the Sarmatian gates. The traveller, by extracting and carrying with him all those passages of the ancients which refer to them, and making minute inquiries respecting all the passes of the mountains, will probably come at a satisfactory solution.

8. When the traveller is at Tiflis, he will avail himself of this position to endeavour to make himself acquainted with the people on his right and left, that is to say, those who inhabit the country towards the Caspian Sea and the Euxine. He cannot fail to find in that town persons who have travelled in these districts, and who have penetrated their remotest and least accessible valleys. From seeking such persons, and questioning them with address, he may derive nearly as much benefit as from a sight of the places themselves; and perhaps he may be induced to contrive to visit them on his return in the summer of 1808.

9. The inhabitants of the coast of the Caspian Sea are well known, excepting the subjects of the Ouzmey, that is, the *Kaïtaks*. A passage of George Interiano proves that they are the ancient Caspians, and perhaps the Legi or Lesghi are *advenæ*. To decide the question we ought to have a Kaïtak vocabulary, and one of Kara-Kaïtak or Faytak, as the Arabs say.

10. In the same vicinity are still to be seen villages of Jews, who are so only by religion and not by origin; for it appears that they are Carnanians who have embraced the Jewish faith. The traveller will endeavour to visit these tribes, and to study them as much as possible, to ascertain whether they have any religious books, and what. This subject is absolutely new. Count Czacki has made some useful

researches on this head: as they are in Polish, I will furnish the traveller with an extract from them.

11. If we pass from the Caspian Sea to the Euxine, we find abundant matter for investigation; and the traveller ought to redouble his application and zeal to procure authentic intelligence concerning districts to which it is difficult to penetrate.

12. We know scarcely any thing of the banks of the Abassa, from Anapa to Mingrelia; yet we are pretty sure that at the foot of the mountains there are tribes totally different from the other Caucasians. Among others, there are on the high lands, and towards the sources of the Ubbuch, the Azge, also called, according to some accounts, the Alans. They are said to speak a peculiar language, and to wear hats. I have no need to observe how interesting it would be to learn something concerning these people, who are the Asians and Ascipourgians of the ancient geographers.

13. As to the other Alans, who, according to Reineggs, dwell to the north of the Lesgi, I doubt their existence. In general, the traveller should make it a rule to follow up every notion that has been furnished us by Reineggs, and to sift it till he has decided how much ought to be retained and how much rejected. His work, which was not intended to be accurate, since the author was a kind of adventurer, swarms the more with errors, as it was published since the death of Reineggs.

14. It would be extremely useful if every traveller would verify the observations of his predecessor: by this method the sciences would be great gainers.

15. When the traveller quits Tiflis, and advances towards Bacou, he should direct his researches to what relates to the ancient inhabitants of Schirvan. I will explain myself.

16. The present Schirvan is the country of the ancient Albanians conquered by Pompey: they were likewise called Alanians; and the Armenians, who never pronounce the letter *l*, who say *Ghouka* for *Luka*, and *Ighia* for *Ilia*, have called them Aghouani. These ancient Albanians or Alanians have given up their country to the Turks, by whom it is now occupied, and have very probably formed the nation of the Afgans or Aghouans, whom the Armenians acknowledge to be their brethren (though the languages are now different, which may easily happen, and on which subject I think I have treated in my primitive history).

17. What the traveller has to do here, is, in the first place, to obtain accurate information respecting an ancient Median dialect which yet exists in the country among the Jews and the Armenians, and which is called Tat, the language of the conquered people.

18. The traveller will not fail to visit the Patriarch of Albania, who resides among the mountains, I know not where, and who is equal in rank to the Patriarch of Ararat. From him the traveller will certainly receive information.

19. He will likewise take particular pains to make himself acquainted with the Talischa dialect. It is pure Median; the language of the Cadusians or Median mountaineers.

20. At length I suppose the traveller arrived at Bacou, where he will pass the winter. Here he will doubtless direct his attention to Persian literature; and the Academy will probably commission him to procure manuscripts in order to complete its collection in that interesting department.

21. But the principal object of the traveller ought to be utility. It is his business to make us better acquainted with Persia, to treat of its different provinces, their political constitution, their productions, the princes who govern them, the factions which exist there. In exercising himself to adapt his questions properly, he may derive considerable advantage from all the Persians whom he will meet with at Bacou and elsewhere.

22. I come now to a point which I consider of consequence on account of its historical importance. It is this:—Either on the traveller's return, or in the course of his journey, if he should have occasion to approach the Turkish frontiers, let him seek individuals belonging to the nation of Laz, and compile a vocabulary of their language, which he will then compare with that of the lower classes in Mingrelia. The language of the Laz will give us that of ancient Colchis, as is demonstrated by various passages of Procopius and others.

23. It will be advisable that, according to the practice in former cases, a student should be given to the traveller as an assistant, who, in case of accident, might preserve the information which he may have collected.

24. I here conclude my sketch of Instructions. It contains sufficient to furnish the traveller with abundant employment; and if I have not given the present paper a more finished form, the Academy will have the goodness to excuse me.

25. N. B. The plague, insurrection, and war may possibly enough occasion delay, and the traveller ought to be left at perfect liberty to arrange his route as he pleases. I am very intimate with Count Gudowitch, and will with pleasure give a letter, not merely of recommendation, but a detailed statement of what may be done by him for the benefit of a traveller.

II.

QUESTIONS AND OBSERVATIONS RELATIVE TO THE CAUCASUS AND ITS INHABITANTS, ON OCCASION OF THE INTENDED TRAVELS OF MR. VON KLAPROTH TO GEORGIA.

It may reasonably be presumed that Mr. von Klaproth, with his intimate acquaintance with all the materials which we yet possess relative to the Caucasus, will make it his business to confirm accurate data, to supply deficiencies, and to correct what is erroneous. I have nevertheless taken the liberty to point out certain subjects in particular, from the elucidation of which the geography of that country and the history not of the Caucasus only but of eastern Europe, has to expect interesting results.

1. Reineggs says concerning the celebrated *Màdshar*, that the Arabic inscriptions and dates on sepulchral stones at that place, prove that the town has been destroyed upwards of 180 years. If such monuments yet exist, they deserve to be accurately copied (without any reduction of the Arabic computation). Güldenstädt and Pallas consider all the relics there as ruins of graves, and are of opinion that it never was an inhabited place.—*Reineggs Kaukasus* i. 78. note. *Güldenst. Reise* ii. 26 *et seq.* *Pallas südl. Statth.* i. 306 *et seq.*

2. May not the situation of *Madshar Juna*, on the *Great Dshinshik* (probably Ulu-Intschik, also Selentschuk a branch of the Cuban) mentioned by Pallas, be more precisely determined?—*Pallas, as above* and p. 308.

3. Is the name of *Endery*, as Müller supposed, actually Tartar, or has it not much more probably been formed from Andreewa? As early as the time of the Arabian writer Ibn Haukal, there was in this neighbourhood the well known town of Semender, properly Swendrew, that is St. Andrew. These three names at least are yet borne by a city and sangiackship in the Turkish pachalik of Servia.—Respecting the situation of Endery there is in Güldenstädt's Travels a gross contradiction, but probably not chargeable to his account. *Müller's Samml. Russ. Gesch.* iv. 39 and note; for the sake of comparison with a remarkable tradition see the same, p. 16. *Güldenst. Reise* i. 493. 498. 206.

4. Is the knightly family of the *Badiletter*, which pretends to be of Madshar origin and governs part of the Ossetian Dugores, *yet subject to Russia?*—It submitted, as we know for certain, in 1781, and a free and before unknown commu-

nication was in consequence opened between Mosdok and Imirete.—*Pallas südl. Statth.* i. 143.

5. The names of *Tigur* and *Uitigur*, by which Reineggs designates the Dugores, are probably distortions; or are those tribes actually so called by any of their neighbours?—*Reineggs Kauk.* i. 234.

6. Among the most remarkable of the mountaineers are the *Karatschei* (Karja-utzi), the *Balkarians*, and the *Tschegem* (in Georgian: Dschig, likewise Dhssiki)—Tartar tribes, it is said, who, surrounded to a very great distance by nations with totally different languages, speak the Nogay-Tartar dialect and exhibit traces of Christianity. May they perhaps belong to the most ancient branches of Mongolized Tartars; or were they the remains of Hunnish tribes, the ancient inhabitants of the country which Constantine Porphyrogenneta denominates Zichia, or relics of the Polowzians, as Güldenstädt, who is here decidedly wrong, considers the Ossetes? Vocabularies and in particular a collection of the names current among them would doubtless throw some light on the subject.—*Güldenst. Reise* i. 460 et seq Compare with the same p. 470. *Pallas südl. Statth.* i. 407. *Stritt. Memor.* iv. 249.

7. Has Reineggs given a correct explanation of the name *Sotschuk-Kala?* What has become of the *Nekrassow Cossacks* since the destruction of *Anapa* in April of the present year?—*Rein. Kauk.* i. 277. *Pallas südl. Statth.* i. 371.

8. Are the other appellations ascribed by Reineggs to *Sokum-kala* correct, and have those names any signification?—*Rein. Kauk.* ii. 7.

9. On the southern frontier of the Georgian province of Somcheti, between the rivers Debete and Indscha lies *Kasachi*, a district of Terekmen-Tartars. Reineggs says that the inhabitants of this district attributed their origin to the *Don Cossacks*. The accuracy of this statement is extremely dubious. Is it not much more likely that the name of Kasach, which the Ossetes apply also to the Tscherkessians, should here be taken in that signification according to which it means in Tartar a hired soldier? It is well known that the Czar Heraclius procured great numbers of mercenaries from this district. The Tartar name might have been borrowed by the Ossetes from their neighbours, and it might have been given without impropriety to the Tscherkessians, as in remote times they certainly engaged themselves in the Turkish and perhaps also in the Russian service. The Kasachia of Constantine Porphyrogenneta would thus be susceptible of an unforced interpretation.—*Podrobnaja Karta.*—*Güldenst. Reise* i. 259. 363. 466. *Rein. Kauk.* ii. 94. *Stritt. Mem.* ii. 1043. iv. 249. *Samml. Russ. Gesch.* iv. 384.

10. In the *Podrobnaja Karta* Georgia is represented as extending much

further eastward than all preceding accounts would lead us to expect. The country, however, is destitute of names of places or tribes. How are the vacancies to be filled up? Might we not look here for the Lesgian districts of *Dido*, *Unso*, *Anzug*, *Kabutsch*, &c.?—*Güldenst. Reis.* i. 490. 491. 488.

The *Lesgians*, *Legi* or *Leksi* are reported by Reineggs to give themselves these appellations; Güldenstädt does not say so. Indeed it is scarcely credible that there should be but one general indigenous name for all these different tribes. They perhaps assume it for the purpose of accommodating their neighbours, as the Tartar nations in Russia give themselves the name of Tartars, which in their own countries they consider as dishonourable. Perhaps the name of *Legi* may be of Ossetian origin. Among the Ossetes and Dugores, *Leg* signifies *man*.—*Rein. Kauk.* i. 63. 189. *Güldenst. Reis.* i. 483. ii. 538.

12. Upon the whole, all the geographical information which we yet possess respecting the *Lesgian tribes* is very defective, and, in comparison with our accounts of the rest of the Caucasus, not only extremely imperfect but also full of errors. In the representation of the rivers *Koisu* and *Samur* the *Podrobnaja Karta* is doubtless more correct than all its predecessors; but though for this very reason it deserves to be made the ground-work for further inquiries, yet it is evident that much is still left to be completed and corrected. Not only the numerous names of Lesgian villages collected by Güldenstädt with exemplary industry, but even those of most of the *districts*, are here omitted. Reineggs writes the same names in a different way, or assigns totally different ones. Coordinate and subordinate parts have probably been frequently confounded, and thus our knowledge of this district is, like the face of nature itself there, a crude and almost chaotic whole. The inaccessibleness of the country has hitherto proved a great obstacle to our acquiring a knowledge of it; but no period perhaps was so favourable to the improvement of this part of geography as the present, since last year only the Lesgian district of Dshar came under the dominion of Russia, and the boundaries of Georgia in general have been so considerably extended towards the east. Some of the principal difficulties are noticed in the succeeding articles.

13. The country situated on the western coast of the Caspian Sea between the lower Koisu and the river Urussai-Bulaki, and subject to the Shamchal of Tarku, is commonly called the province of *Kumük*, and its inhabitants the *Kumük Tartars*. It however appears, that since the time of the Arab dominion the name of Kumük has been used in a much more extensive signification. Thus it has been applied to Lesgian tribes also; and those Lesgians who, inhabiting the highest mountains

of eastern Caucasus, wereinaccessible to the Mohammedan faith, were termed *Kiafer-* (unbelieving) *Kumüks;* whereas those tribes which occupied the lower ranges and were converted to Islamism were called *Kasi-* (believing) *Kumüks.*—This idea, however, disagrees with the statements of all the writers who treat of the inhabitants of these districts, and the representation of the country in all maps, *inasmuch as the Kasi-Kumüks invariably appear to be a particular tribe of the Lesgi,* residing south-westward of Tarku on the east side of the river Koisu, in the latitude of 41° 30′. In Güldenstädt's map they are placed somewhat more northerly, and in the *Podrobnaja Karta* rather southward. They are nevertheless said to be under the dominion of the Chanbutai- (*Chamutai*) Surchai-Chan, to whom also is subject the district of *Kura* situated much further south on the river Gurgeni, and who is therefore considered as a neighbour to Schirwan (taken in the limited sense). The Kasi-Kumüks, we are told, reside near the district of *Zudakara.* In the *Podrobnaja Karta* there is a place of that name on the Koisu; but the word "*near*" is provokingly vague, and leads to nothing. The same author (p. 493) enumerates thirteen villages of the Kasi-Kumüks, and on the following page the same names again occur, with upwards of ninety others. But from this we derive no information, and in vain we look in the maps for all these names.—*Marshal von Biberstein's Beschreibung der Länder zwischen dem Terek und Kur,* p. 11. 30. 31. *Rein. Kauk.* i. 81. 96. *Güldenst.* i. 493 *et seq.*

14. Similar difficulties occur in regard to the country of the *Awares.* Güldenstädt calls the residence of their Uma-Chan *Kabuda,* and the chief village of the district more peculiarly subject to him he denominates *Chunsag.* He adds that the Tartar name of this village is *Auar,* and that in the Andisch-Lesgian dialect it is called *Haibul.* Now we find in the *Podrobnaja Karta* a place named Auar on the Atala, a western branch of the Koisu, in the latitude of 42° 30′; but lower down the same river is a quite different place, Chunsak; and at the sources of the Koisu the same map has the name of the Awares in the middle of the territory of the Chanbutai of the *Kasi-Kumüks.* In the map to Marshal Biberstein's work also the name of the Awares appears twice, and that at the distance of two whole degrees of latitude; and the Uma-Chan must reside here very far southward, but whether, according to the text, *behind* Old Schamachi, is a question. The younger Gmelin divides the Awares into three tribes, whose names he gives without assigning their places.—How are all these statements to be reconciled? We might almost suppose, and an expression of Colonel Gärber strengthens the conjecture, that the name of *Awares* is also used as a *general appellation* of the Lesgian tribes. As they were

included by the Arab geographers among the Kumüks, so they were altogether, as it appears, denominated Legi or Lesgi by the Ossetes, but by the Tartars and the Persians likewise Awar; lastly by the Georgians Chun, Chunsag, or some such name; for according to Güldenstädt the Uma-Chan is in Georgian called Chunsagir-Batoni. Hence it happened that general names came to be considered as special, and *vice versâ*, and were applied either arbitrarily or as appeared most consistent with probability to this or that part of the unknown district, and thus error accumulated upon error.—*Güldenst.* i. 485, 486. *Marshal von Biberstein*, p. 31. *Gürber*, in the *Samml. Russ. Gesch.* iv. 84.

15. Reineggs explains the Georgian term *Chunsagir Batoni* by means of the Mongol; whether with reason is a question. We might perhaps more justly refer it to the *Uar* and *Chun* or Uar-Chonites, likewise *Pseudo-Awares* of the Byzantines, and then we should have no occasion to run with Deguignes in quest of these people to the *Geou-gen* on the frontiers of China.—*Rein. Kauk.* i. 205. *Strit. Mem.* i. 643. 667.

Are the *Tuschi* still *tributary to the Uma-Chan*, as in Güldenstädt's time?—*Güldenst.* i. 377.

16. On what particular part of the Koisu is situated the Lesgian district or tribe of *Burtuna*, which Reineggs perhaps more correctly calls *Burtunnäh?* It is this probably that is mentioned in our Nestor and by Plan Carpin.—*Güldenst.* i. 487. *Rein. Kauk.* i. 98.

17. In any of the Lesgian dialects does *Ell*, *All* or *Ill*, in the plural *Allan*, signify *race, tribe, horde?*—*Rein. Kauk.* i. 96.

18. Are the *Lesgian women* distinguished by that extraordinary beauty for which they are so highly extolled by Reineggs?—*Rein. Kauk.* i. 202. 621.

19. A manuscript account of the eastern Caucasus, written in 1800 by an officer in the fortress of Naur, mentions the Chan of the *Schimutei* Ali Sultan as the western neighbour of the Schamchal of Tarku. Should it not perhaps be *Dschengutai*, as the *Podrobnaja Karta* would lead us to imagine? According to Güldenstädt (i. 499) Dschungutai, and Reineggs (i. 98) Zschingutei.

20. Is the *dialect of the Kumük Tartars* essentially different from that of the Nogay and Terekmen Tartars?

21. Are the *Kaidaks* or Chailaks in the territory of the Usmei Chan *Terekmen Tartars*, as the younger Gmelin expressly says?—Do they not profess the Jewish as well as the Mohammedan religion?—Or are these disciples of Moses only *degenerate Jews* who have forgotten their mother tongue?—*Gmelin's Reise* v. 95. 101. *Rein. Kauk.* i. 107. *Samml. Russ. Gesch.* iv. 145.

22. Do the *Bereközes* belong also to the *Kaidaks?—Marsh. von Biberstein*, p. 16.

23. The *Karakaidaks*, the western neighbours of the Kaidaks, must without doubt be *Lesgians?—Gmelins Reise* iv. 95. *Güldenst.* i. 494. 495.

24. Are the *Tabasseranes* also *Lesgians?* Reineggs writes *Taeb-iss-Sara*, as if he knew the signification of the name, but he no where explains it.—*Güldenst.* i. 495. *Reineggs* i. 67. 82. 84. 112.

25. Are there ruins of a town called *Kaidek*, and is there still a place named *Kara-Kaidek?—Reineggs* i. 106.

26. Does the word *Terekemme* in the Tartar language signify *Nomades*, wanderers; and have the Terekmen Tartars thence derived their name?—*Reineggs* i. 105. ii. 97.

27. Reineggs mentions a *fragment of the History of Derbend* which ends with the caliph Harun il Reschid. Are copies of this work yet to be procured?—*Rein.* i. 35. 119.

28. The Lesgian districts of *Rutul* and *Achti*, briefly mentioned by Güldenstädt, appear in the *Podrobnaja Karta* as *lordships;*—since what time have they been so? have they native rulers?

29. Güldenstädt produced an accession of considerable importance to history in describing the *Terekmen Tartars*, who speak a dialect very nearly allied to the Turkish, as inhabitants of the whole country from *Boinak* to *Baku*, and thence westward stretching away towards *Armenia*. Every confirmation of his statements must therefore be acceptable, and we cannot but wish to obtain an accurate knowledge of their geography. The Terekmen districts of *Alti-Para*, *Dokus-Para*, *Chinakug* (properly Chinalug), *Krisch*, *Budach* (not *Krisch-budach*), mentioned by him are not in the *Podrobnaja Karta*. What he denominates *Miskindschal* is probably the Miskend on the Samur, in the Achtian territory.—*Güld.* i. 501. *Reineggs* i. 140. *Samml. Russ. Gesch.* iv. 47. 52.

30. Gärber gives to a district the now probably obsolete name of *Rustau;*—but in many places he calls it *Rustan:*—which of these is right? *Samml. Russ. Gesch.* iv. 111. 54. 61. 90 *et seq.*

31. What proportion is there between the *number of the Armenians in Schirwan* (taken in a limited sense) and that of the Terekmen Tartars?—The former have their own Catholicos there.

32. Are the *Kadschares* (Chatschares, Chaadschares) in the vicinity of *Astrabad* on the southern shore of the Caspian Sea, a *Georgian tribe*, removed thither by Schach Abbas, as Güldenstädt asserts? The younger Gmelin says nothing con-

cerning their origin. Gatterer however, seems to have followed the statement of Güldenstädt in describing the celebrated *Chasares* of the middle ages as Georgians. Specimens not only of the language in common use, but also of that from which it is derived, would be requisite to decide this point.—*Güldenst.* in the Journal of St. Petersburg, April 1777, iii. 265. Compare with *Güldenst. Reise* i. 243. 327. *Gmelin's Reise* iii. 467.

33. In what language does *Kyr* (the *Lower Kur*) signify two-armed?—*Rein. Kauk.* i. 149.

34. Is there actually a Caucasian race called *Albon?*—*Rein.* i. 63.

35. A very desirable contribution towards correcting our information relative to the Caucasus, would be as complete a *geographical and ethnographical synonymy* as possible. We shall avoid many errors when we know how each tribe calls itself and its neighbours, and how it is called by them; when we are acquainted with all the different names that are given to one and the same district, place, or river. Several branches of the Sundscha already appear in the *Podrobnaja Karta* with Russian names, and the more ancient native appellations have disappeared.

36. In like manner the *translation of the names*, where they are susceptible of it, is very useful. Gärber, because he paid no attention to the signification of names, has probably described one and the same district three times, and each time with some difference. Lower Dagestan, he says, is composed of five districts and six villages. The first of those districts he calls Alti-Para. He afterwards speaks of the district of Sches-Para. Now Alti in Tartar signifies, like Schesch in Persian, the number six; and there is every reason to suppose that not only his *Alti-Para* and *Sches-Para*, but likewise the *Six Villages* of Lower Dagestan separately mentioned, must be one and the same district, especially as the boundaries assigned to each are the same. The correction of this oversight is of importance for the *determination of the frontiers of Russia* on that side.—*Samml. Russ. Gesh.* iv. 113. 52.

37. Materials for a *History of the Persian Campaign under Peter the Great*, and in particular for a *History of the last War between Russia and Persia*, will probably be met with at Mosdok and Tiflis.

38. Remarks on the *Sources* in general whence information has been derived, are, when they can be introduced without indelicacy, of great value to the informant and to the friends of science. To the generality of readers they are not so, but such wish not to be informed.

St. Petersburg,
August 28, 1807.

AUGUST CHRISTIAN LEHRBERG.

III.

TO MR. VON KLAPROTH ON OCCASION OF HIS INTENDED TRAVELS IN GEORGIA.

1. In the Russian chronicles occur these names: *Abaruk, Aluk, Altunop, Aturgii, Baschkart, Bliusch, Bonjäk, Jaroslanopa, Itlar, Kobkak, Kobran, Kotschii, Kunam, Kurja, Kurtok, Osaluk, Scharukan, Seluk, Sokal, Stasch, Sugr, Surbar, Targ, Tarsuk, Tschenegreb, Tugorkan, Turandai, Urusoba, Weldius.*—Among the Ossetes, according to Güldenstädt, the following are still common names of men: *Itlar, Urus, Saba, Katschin, Janslanop, Kunem, Kustok, Tschenegreb, Surbar, Waldusa*, &c. (In a letter from Georgiewsk, I am told that this is not the case.) How far is this true? and may these names be explained by the Ossetian language? Are they not likewise to be found among their Nogay and other Tartar neighbours? Have they not some signification in the Tartar tongue?

2. How do the Ossetes call their neighbours, for instance the Tscherkessians, the Karatschai, the Malkars, the Grusians (Georgians), the Lesginzes, the Russians, the Persians, &c.?

3. Reineggs says that in old graves were found irregular cast pieces of copper with Cufic letters, likewise oblong square pieces with blunted edges and the impression of a sabre; sometimes in addition to the sabre they bear the likeness of the Grusinian Czar Temuras; this coin is not now current.—I have myself several specimens of the latter. Is there any connexion between them and the Chinese coins with nearly the same impressions that are mentioned by Hager? Are they called *Pol* or *Pul?* and what is the signification of that term?—There are said to be coins of the same name in Bucharia, Persia, &c. The oldest copper coins in Russia are likewise called *Pule*, whence comes the present name *Poluschka*. Might not a number of these be procured?—Upon the whole, it would in my opinion be desirable that Mr. von Klaproth should endeavour to obtain for the cabinet of the Academy as complete a series as possible of the different coins which were or still are current among the nations that he visits, together with all such particulars respecting them as are to be collected on the spot.

4. Are there still coins named *Tanga* or *Tänga?*

5. Though some travellers doubt the existence of an ancient town at *Madjar*, others from ocular examination maintain the contrary. The inscriptions and bas

reliefs which are said to be still extant there, together with the great quantity of coins found among the ruins of the place, seem to confirm the opinion of the latter. I myself possess a number of them; but unfortunately they are in such bad preservation that nothing is to be distinguished upon them. Might not some in good preservation be procured? Might not the inscriptions throw further light on the subject?

6. Reineggs mentions a people called Tigur or Uitigur, who are said to speak the most ancient known Tartarian dialect. Are these the *Dugor* or *Digir*, the Ossetes of Pallas and Güldenstädt?

7. Have the learned among the Jews in Schirwan, Rustan (?) among the Chaïdaks, &c. no knowledge of their origin? Have they no manuscripts? Do they speak only the language of the country? Do they perform military service?

8. In and near Derbend are said to be many Arabic, Persian, and Turkish inscriptions: would it not be worth while to examine them? We are told that sometimes, but very rarely, a copper coin is found with the words *Fluss Derbend* (copper coin of Derbend) on the obverse, and exhibiting on the reverse a dragon holding in his claws the head of a horse which he has torn in pieces. Are there many such coins?

9. What are we to think of the Tartar treatise mentioned by Gärber under the head *Awari?*

10. It would likewise be desirable to procure more precise accounts of the *Frenki*, as they are called, in Kubeschah, of their language, their arms, their works in gold and silver, and their coins. They are said to have coined rubles exactly resembling the Russian.

11. Corrections or confirmations of some remarks by Gärber on Bayer's treatise from the emperor Constantine Porphyrogenneta would also be desirable.

August 29, 1807. PHILIP KRUG.

SUPPLEMENT.

OF THE POLOWZIANS*.

THE Polowzians, a nation whose origin is unknown, dwelt in the *steppe* between the Don and the Wolga, and more southerly toward the Caucasus. They appear for the first time in the Russian history in the year of Christ 996, during the reign of Wladimir, when their prince Wolodar made an incursion into Russia. Wladimir's general, Alexander Popowitsch, assembled an army far inferior to them in number, with which he attacked them in the night, killed Wolodar, and routed them so completely that they were obliged to return home.

Sixty-five years later, during the reign of Issjäslaw I. they ventured to attempt another inroad into Russia, and on this occasion proved more successful. Under the conduct of their prince Sokol, they advanced with such rapidity, that they had reached the territory of the Knjäs Wsewolod, before he could receive succours from his brothers; so that he was necessitated to meet them with such forces as he could collect in his province of Perejäslawl. A pitched battle took place on the 2d of February 1061, when the Russians were totally defeated. The Polowzians, however, neglected to follow up their victory, and, after laying waste the whole country, returned with their prisoners and booty to their former abodes. Here they remained not long inactive, for in 1066 they again appeared in the Russian territory. The princes Issjäslaw, Swjätoslaw and Wsewolod united to oppose them, but received so severe a defeat on the river Alta, that the fugitive Russians were completely dispersed: Issjäslaw and Wsewolod fled to Kiew, and Swjätoslaw to Tschernigow. The Polowzians having no further resistance to apprehend, according to their usual practice, plundered and laid waste the level country. The Kiew troops would have marched against them, but were not permitted by Issjäslaw. His conduct occasioned an insurrection, the result of which was, that this prince, expelled from Kiew, was forced to flee to Poland, and Wseslaw succeeded him in the sovereignty of that city. Meanwhile Swjätoslaw, prince of Tschernigow, collected three thousand troops, with which he attacked the far superior force of the Polowzians, and defeated them on the 1st of November, near the river Snowa, taking their prince himself prisoner. After an interval of four years they again invaded the territory

* This Supplement is not by Mr. Von Krug.

of Rostowez and Negätin, and supported Wseslaw, who had been driven out of Kiew by Issjäslaw, and who, with their assistance, expelled Swjätopolk from Polozk, and recovered that principality.

About the year 1077, Boris, son of Swjätoslaw, dissatisfied that, according to a treaty which had been concluded, he was not allowed to retain possession of Tschernigow, which he had unjustly acquired, withdrew to Tmutarakan, a principality at the mouth of the Kuban*, whither he was soon followed by his brother Oleg, who had resided at the court of Wsewolod at Tschernigow. Here they assembled Polowzian auxiliaries, with whom they invaded Russia, defeated Wsewolod, who had marched to oppose them, near the river Soshiza, and took Tschernigow. Wsewolod now fled to his brother Issjäslaw at Kiew, who, uniting his troops with those of the princes Wladimir and Swjätopolk, thus brought together so formidable an army, that he was enabled first to retake Tschernigow, and afterwards to give the Polowzians a signal defeat in an engagement in which Boris and Issjäslaw were slain. Oleg with difficulty escaped to Tmutarakan.

In 1079 Oleg and Roman, a son of Wseslaw, again collected an army of Polowzians, with which they penetrated to Perejëslawl. Wsewolod advanced to meet them, but concluded a peace with the Polowzians, who thereupon returned home, and on the 2d of August put Roman to death. Oleg was banished the country by them, and sent to Constantinople. The vacant principality of Tmutarakan now devolved to Wsewolod, who sent thither one Ratibor as governor. This state of things lasted not long, for in 1081 Igorewitsch and Wolodar Rostislawitsch repaired to Tmutarakan, made Ratibor prisoner, and took possession of that principality. In the following year died a prince of the Polowzians, but his name is no where recorded.

Oleg, who had been exiled to Byzantium, regained his liberty, and in 1083 returned to Tmutarakan, drove out the two princes who had usurped the sovereignty, and caused the Chasares, who, as allies of the Polowzians, had participated in the murder of his cousin Roman, to be executed.

In 1092 the Polowzians again made incursions into Russia, took the towns of

* *Tmutarakan* is the city which the ancients denominated *Phanagoria*, and which stood on the site of the present town of Thaman (in Turkish *Thaman-ckala'h*) in the island of the same name at the mouth of the *Kuban*. By the Arabs, in the middle ages, it was called *Methercha*; and in the old Italian maps of the 14th century *Matreca*, *Matriga*, *Matuga*, *Matega*, and *Matrega*. This appellation is very ancient, and first occurs in the Byzantine historians. Ταματαρχα was, according to Constantine Porphyrogenneta, a town on the Bosphorus.

Peszotschen and Perewoloka, and laid waste and destroyed many villages and hamlets on both sides of the Dnjeper. This inroad, however, appears not to have been of long duration. Next year died Wsewolod; and Swjätopolk, a son of Issjäslaw, succeeded him in the sovereignty of Kiew. The Polowzians, who were just preparing for an invasion of Russia, conceiving that they had not so fair a chance of success as formerly, on account of the harmony which was now restored among the princes of that empire, sent ambassadors to Swjätopolk to renew and confirm the peace already subsisting between them. The latter, attributing this conduct to fear, ordered the ambassadors to be imprisoned; upon which the Polowzians, exasperated at this treatment, began to lay waste the Russian territory, and besieged Tortschesk. Swjätopolk was now willing to set the ambassadors at liberty, and to renew the peace; but the Polowzians refused to accede to it, and compelled him to take the field. Having collected no more than eight hundred men, he joined the troops of Wladimir and Rostislaw before Kiew. When they had reached the river Stugna, which was much swollen, Wladimir proposed once more to offer peace with arms in their hands to the Polowzians, but the people of Kiew insisted upon war: the army therefore crossed the Stugna, and drew up before the town of Trepol, where they awaited the Polowzians. The order of battle of the Russian force was as follows: In the centre was stationed Rostislaw with his troops, on the right Swjätopolk with the men of Kiew, and on the left Wladimir with the people of Tschernigow. On the 26th of May, which was Ascension-day, the Polowzians advanced against them, with their archers posted in front. Their first attack was directed against Swjätopolk, who was put to flight with great loss, as were afterwards Wladimir and Rostislaw, who however continued together, and reached the Stugna. The Polowzians with one part of their troops ravaged the whole country, while another returned to the siege of Tortschesk. That town was reduced to the utmost extremity by the want of supplies, which were cut off by the enemy; but was nevertheless defended with such valour, that the besiegers, wearied out with the long resistance, divided their force. One half remained before the place, while the other directed their march towards Kiew, and laid waste the whole country on their way. Swjätopolk advanced against them and met them in a district called Shelan, where a battle ensued, in which victory at first declared in his favour, but which terminated so unfortunately, that he returned unaccompanied by any of his troops to Kiew. Upon this the Polowzians went back to Tortschesk, which was at length, on the 24th of July, obliged to surrender. The town was burned, and the inhabitants carried off as slaves; but great numbers of them perished by the way of hunger and thirst.

Swjätopolk, who had been twice beaten by the Polowzians, was now anxious to conclude a solid peace with them: this he accomplished in 1094, and to render it still more binding, he married the daughter of their prince Tugorkan. Oleg Swjätoslawitsch nevertheless prevailed on the Polowzians to make a new incursion into Russia, and marched with them to Tschernigow, where Wladimir Monomach, who was unable to oppose them in the open field, had shut himself up. Oleg laid waste the suburbs and the plain till Wladimir concluded a peace, by which he ceded to him the principality of Tschernigow, reserving that of Perejeslawl only, which had devolved to him in consequence of the decease of his brother Rostislaw. Notwithstanding this treaty the Polowzians still continued their ravages, because Oleg had promised to allow them to keep all the booty they should make.

In the following year, they engaged with prince Dewgenewitsch* in an expedition against the Greeks, which, however, proved extremely disastrous; for they were not only totally routed, but Dewgenewitsch was taken prisoner, and had his eyes put out by the command of the Greek emperor. Hereupon they dispatched their two leaders Itlar and Kitan to Wladimir at Perejeslawl, to make peace with him. Itlar was admitted into the city with the principal persons of his retinue; but Kitan remained with the troops between the ramparts, and had obtained Wladimir's son Swjätoslaw as an hostage. Just at this juncture arrived Slawjäta, sent by Swjätopolk from Kiew to Wladimir, who persuaded him to put Itlar to death, and thus revenge himself of the Polowzians, who had so often violated their faith with him. But as he was unwilling to expose his son who was in Kitan's power, he sent Slawjäta, with the Turks in his service, to steal him away, and to dispatch Kitan and his men in the night: this plan was successfully executed. Next morning Wladimir sent his servant Bandshuk to invite Itlar to breakfast in a particular apartment, in which he was secured with his companions. Upon this, Oleg, Ratibor's son, with a number of armed men opening a way to them from above, put them all to death. Wladimir, in conjunction with Swjätopolk, immediately took the field against the Polowzians. No decisive action occurred, but they took a great quantity of plunder and many prisoners. The allies now sent messengers to Oleg, who had not come to assist them against the enemy, with whom he was on good terms, requiring him to deliver up the sons of Itlar; but with this demand he refused to comply.

After the departure of Swjätopolk and Wladimir from the territory of the Po-

* The pretended son of the *Diogenes* of the Byzantines.

lowzians, the latter soon followed them and laid siege to the town of Jurew in the Ukraine, which they could not take during the whole summer of 1095. They, however, compelled Swjätopolk to make peace; and found means to penetrate into the town, which was deserted by the inhabitants, and reduced it to ashes.

Soon afterwards Oleg was driven out of Tschernigow, and the Polowzians, headed by their princes Bonjäk and Kurjä, hastened to assist him by making an inroad into Russia. Bonjäk laid waste the country round Kiew, and Kurjä advanced upon Perejeslawl, where he likewise committed great ravages; and on the 24th of May 1096 burned the town of Ust'e: after which they returned home. Six days after the destruction of Ust'e, Tugorkan, the father-in-law of Swjätopolk, appeared before Perejeslawl and besieged the town; but being attacked on the 19th of July near the river Trubescha, by the latter who had joined Wladimir, he was killed, together with his son and a great number of his men: the rest saved themselves by flight. Tugorkan's body was buried by Swjätopolk at Berestow. On the other hand Bonjäk, on the 20th of July, made an unexpected attack on Kiew, of which he had well nigh made himelf master; but was obliged to be content with destroying the suburbs and the adjacent villages. At his departure he demolished the convent of St. Stephen, and plundered and burned that of Petschersk, and likewise the palace of Krasnoi erected by prince Wsewolod on a hill near Widobitsch.

In the following year, 1097, all the Russian princes at length assembled to make a new division of the country, and to conclude a firm alliance against the Polowzians, whose incessant incursions reduced Russia to a desert. Their harmony, however, was not of long duration. Swjätopolk II, in 1099, took the field against Wolodar and Wasiliko, but was completely defeated by them, and in consequence sent an embassy to the Hungarians to solicit their assistance. David, a prince who had been driven from his country by Swjätopolk, repaired meanwhile to the Polowzians to implore their aid, and met on the way with their leader Bonjäk, with whom he united his force. David had with him only one hundred men, and Bonjäk no more than three hundred and fifty; they nevertheless ventured to attack the army of the Hungarians, under their king Kolomann, and put it to flight. Bonjäk had formed his troops into four divisions: fifty, headed by Altanapan, a Polowzian, were placed in ambuscade; three hundred were commanded by David; and he had himself two corps of fifty men each under his orders. With this insignificant force he made several attacks at night upon the Hungarians, and with such success, that David was enabled to take Sustesk and Tscherwen, and even to besiege Wladimir. He was, however, repulsed, and had recourse a second time to the Polowzians,

who again sent him succours under Bonjäk. With these he proceeded to Lusk, where they besieged Swjätopolk, and compelled him, after concluding a convention, to evacuate that town and repair to Tschernigow. They then proceeded to Wladimir, which they likewise took. In the following year a new alliance was formed between the princes, and the Polowzians were comprehended in the peace concluded on the 15th of September 1101.

The very next year, however, all the Russian princes, with the exception of Oleg, prepared to invade the country of the Polowzians, to chastise them for the devastations which they had so long committed in Russia. The latter, on receiving intelligence of the intended enterprise, held a meeting to consult what was best to be done. One of their oldest princes, named Urusoba, advised peace; but all the younger ones were unanimous for war, and testified their desire to fight the Russians. After they had concluded to leave the decision to arms, they sent one of their most valiant leaders, named Altunop, to reconnoitre the Russian force; but he was surrounded with his men and slain. When the hostile armies afterwards came in sight, on the 4th of April 1103, the Polowzians were seized with such a panic, that, without thinking of resistance, they betook themselves to flight; and the Russians had no need to fight, but merely to pursue the fugitives. On this occasion fell twenty Polowzian princes, among whom were Urusoba, Kogrep, and Surbar; another, named Weldjussjä, was taken prisoner. The latter was sent by Swjätopolk to Wladimir, to whom he offered great treasures for his ransom, and a solemn promise never again to make war upon the Russians. Wladimir, however, would not trust the oaths so often violated by the Polowzians; but with Swjätopolk's consent ordered him to be put to death, to strike terror into his countrymen. The defeat of the Polowzians had been inexpressibly great, and afforded the Russians an opportunity of subduing the Petscheneges and the Turks.

In 1106 the Polowzians again invaded Russia, and laid waste and ravaged the district of Ssaretschsk; but Swjätopolk's generals pursued and took from them their prisoners and the booty which they had made. In the following year they again put themselves in motion, and under the conduct of Bonjäk, old Scharukan, and several other princes, entered Russia, for the purpose of ravaging the country, and encamped in the vicinity of Lubna. As the Russian princes were then on good terms with one another, they assembled their forces and went to meet the enemy. At noon they crossed the river, and attacked the Polowzians with such fury that they were totally defeated and pursued to Chorol. Besides many killed and prisoners, Bonjäk's two brothers, named Tass and Sugr, were among the former; and it was

with difficulty that Scharukan escaped by flight. On this day the whole camp of the enemy fell into the hands of the Russians. Though they had for some time been constantly victorious, they were apprehensive that on the first favourable opportunity the Polowzians would revenge themselves, and therefore concluded a peace with the two princes of the name of Aepa; and, to confirm their alliance, Wladimir united his son Jur'e in marriage with the daughter of Aepa, the son of Osen, as did Oleg his son Swjätoslaw with the daughter of the other Aepa, a son of Girgen. Both these matches were consummated on the 12th of January 1107.

In 1110 the Russian princes Swjätopolk, Wladimir, and David, took the field against the Polowzians, but turned back before they had reached the town of Woin: the year following, however, they renewed the war with united forces. On Friday, in the second week of Lent, they arrived at the river Sula; in the fourth they were posted at the river Gol'ta, waiting for reinforcements; in the fifth they crossed the Don, and came to the town of Scharukan, whose inhabitants submitted without resistance. The next day they proceeded to Sugrow and burned it. Meanwhile the Polowzians had assembled a large army; and the day preceding Palm Sunday, which likewise happened to be the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary, they gave battle to the Russians at the rivulet of Degei: the latter proved victorious. In a second engagement, on the 27th of March, the enemy were equally unfortunate, and sustained a complete defeat, on which they returned to their own country. Wladimir afterwards sent out his people on several plundering expeditions against the Polowzians.

In 1114, when Wladimir Monomach mounted the throne of Kiew, the Polowzians had an engagement of two days on the Don with the allied Petscheneges and Turks, who were so totally defeated and dispersed that they were obliged to seek refuge with Wladimir, who took them into his service. In the following year, Wladimir's son, Jaropolk, marched against the Polowzians on the Don, and took three of their towns, Tschewschljuew, Sugrow, and Balin; and brought back a number of prisoners: among these was a female whom he made his wife, and who was baptized Elena. The same Jaropolk, in 1120, undertook a new campaign against the Polowzians beyond the Don; but before his arrival at that river they had abandoned the country and retreated, so that he never once came in sight of the enemy, and was obliged, without performing any thing, to return from this desert region.

While Wladimir Monomach lived the Polowzians were tolerably quiet; but immediately after his death, in 1125, they invaded Russia under the conduct of their

prince Kobran. No sooner was Jaropolk informed of the circumstance, than, without waiting for the assistance of his brothers, he went with the people of Perejeslawl to meet the enemy, who hastily retreated towards their own country. Jaropolk pursued them, overtook them in the district of Steni, and totally defeated them.

In 1127 Wsewolod Olgowitsch had expelled from Tschernigow his father's brother, Jaroslaw Swjätoslawitsch, who sought an asylum with Mstislaw, prince of Kiew, and obtained his assistance. Wsewolod now invited to his aid seven thousand Polowzians, under their chieftains Selukan and Stasch. After they had encamped near the wood of Ratimir, beyond Wyr, they sent deputies to Wsewolod to settle the terms upon which their succour was to be afforded; but as they were obliged to traverse the territories of Jaropolk and Issjäslaw, and to pass through the district of Kursk, they were taken prisoners on their way back at the river Lokna, and sent to Jaropolk. As the Polowzians in consequence received no answer from Wsewolod, they returned home.

In 1129 the Polowzians again penetrated into Russia, but were driven back by Mstislaw across the Don and the Wolga. The following year the latter invaded Lithuania with a great force, and brought back from that country a rich booty and many prisoners. In his absence the Polowzians made another incursion into Russia, but were repulsed with great loss by the princes of Rjässan and Murom. A Polowzian prince, named Amurat, suffered himself to be baptized at Rjässan in 1132.

When, in 1135, the sons of Oleg went to war with the family of Wladimir, but found themselves too weak to attack Jaropolk, they repaired in person to the Polowzians and solicited their aid. In conjunction with them, they entered Russia and committed great devastations. They took the town of Neshatin, burned Barutsch, and made a great number of prisoners. Jaropolk collected the people of Kiew and Perejeslawl against them; but after they had taken post for eight days near Kiew, and witnessed the departure of Oleg's sons, they dismissed their troops. The latter, however, the year following again invaded Jaropolk's territories with the Polowzians, destroyed the villages on the river Sula, and advanced towards Perejeslawl. Here they committed many depredations, burned the village of Usté, and then came to a place called Supoi, where they were attacked by Jaropolk and his brothers. Jaropolk's troops fell with great courage upon the Polowzians, who feigned flight and were pursued by them. In the mean time the sons of Oleg attacked the rest of Jaropolk's people and beat them out of the field. When their companions returned from the pursuit of the Polowzians, they no longer found their

princes in the field of battle; and being surrounded on one side by the Polowzians, who had faced about, and on the other by the troops of the sons of Oleg, they were partly cut in pieces and partly made prisoners. Jaropolk and his brothers retreated to Kiew; but the enemy, improving their victory, took Trepol', laid waste Chalep, and at length arrived before Kiew, where the grand-duke, who had meanwhile collected a fresh army, was waiting to receive them. A peace was however concluded without any further fighting; after which the sons of Oleg retired to Tschernigow, and the Polowzians to their steppes beyond the Don.

In 1139 the Polowzians made proposals of peace to the Russians, and Wsewolod II., the then grand-duke of Kiew, as also Andrew, prince of Perejeslawl, repaired to the district called Malotina, and concluded a treaty with them. This seems to have subsisted for some time, for in 1144 Wsewolod obtained succours from them to assist him in the siege of Polozk, in Poland; yet in 1148 they aided the princes of Tschernigow against those of Perejeslawl, entered Russia, and burned the suburbs of the latter town. The following year, under their prince Shirowslaw, or Temir-Chossjei, they assisted George, son of Wladimir, against Issjäslaw, and in 1150 made an inroad into the territory of Kursk. In the same year George again solicited their succour against Issjäslaw; but they delayed their departure, so that they did not arrive till the former had accomplished his object, and driven his rival out of Kiew. As they now saw no enemy to oppose them, they could not forbear plundering those whom they had come to assist. They closely pressed Perejeslawl; but when they perceived that serious preparations were making against them, they retired to their own country, after they had concluded peace with the Russian princes. George had in the mean time continued in league with the sons of Oleg and the Polowzians, and in 1151 entered into an alliance with the princes of Tschernigow and the same people. He then marched with a great army against Issjäslaw, and encamped on the left bank of the Dnjeper, which separated him from that city. The people of Kiew long disputed the passage, till Oleg's son Swjätoslaw effected it, at a place called Ssarus, with the Polowzians, who sprang completely armed into the river, drove back the troops of Issjäslaw, and thus enabled George's troops to cross. The latter was nevertheless repulsed before Kiew, and lost a second battle at Perepetow, in which the Polowzians bore scarcely any part, but on the first volley of arrows betook themselves to flight. He nevertheless afterwards kept auxiliaries of that nation constantly about him.

In the following year, 1152, Mstislaw, the son of Issjäslaw, entered their country, defeated them in several engagements, took many prisoners, and carried off

abundance of cattle and other spoil. He set at liberty many of the Christians taken by him, and drove the enemy completely behind the Don; upon which a peace was concluded with them. Notwithstanding this they in the same year laid waste the country bordering on the river Sula, whence also they were driven by Mstislaw. During the short reign of Rostislaw and Izjaslaw Dawydowitsch, in 1154, the Polowzians afforded frequent aid to the Russian princes who were at variance with one another, by which the country was grievously devastated. In the same year, when George Wladimirowitsch had scarcely ascended the throne of Kiew, they again made considerable incursions into Russia, and first proceeded against Porusse, then governed by prince Wassilko. Here they found not the smallest opposition, laid waste and pillaged all before them, and took many prisoners. On their return, however, they were overtaken by the Russians in conjunction with the Berendians, their camp was attacked while they were fast asleep, and they were seized with such a panic that without striking a blow they abandoned their booty and betook themselves to flight, in which many of them were killed or taken. The Polowzians, rather incensed than weakened by this disaster, in the following year, 1155, assembled a numerous army, and again entered the Russian territories. George marched against them; but neither party had any particular inclination to leave the decision of their cause to a battle. The Polowzians sent deputies to the grand-duke, to intimate that they had come to Russia with no other intention than to restore to liberty the princes of their nation taken, the preceding year, by the Berendians. The latter peremptorily refused to surrender their slaves; so that George, in order to avoid hazarding an engagement, was obliged to make valuable presents to the Polowzians to induce them to depart, which they did before any peace was concluded. No sooner, however, had the troops of Kiew turned their backs, than they attacked Demeusk and laid waste that town as well as the vicinity of Perejeslawl, after which they returned to their own country. The third incursion of the Polowzians during the reign of George I. took place in the same year, and obliged him to defer an expedition against Tschernigow, as he was necessitated first to take the field against them. They were posted in a district called Dubnez, as far as beyond Supoi: when the great Russian army appeared in sight, they affected a disposition to negotiate for peace; but before any overtures could be made they returned to their own country. In 1156 they made an incursion into the district of *Bysterzja Sroma*, in the territory of Rjasan, and carried off a great number of the inhabitants as captives: but being overtaken by the troops who went in pursuit of them, they were surprised while asleep, and obliged to return home with the loss of all their booty.

In 1158 Issjäslaw Dawydowitsch, prince of Kiew, made warlike preparations against the prince of Galitsch, leagued himself with his cousin Swjätoslaw Wladimirowitsch, and summoned many Polowzians to his assistance. The prince of Galitsch, likewise strengthened by alliances, had advanced as far as Bjelgorod to meet him: near that place an obstinate engagement ensued; after which Issjäslaw retreated, though joined the following day by twelve thousand Polowzians, under their prince Baschkrad, father-in-law of his cousin Swjäteslaw. Two years afterwards, Issjäslaw, in conjunction with another Swjätoslaw and a great number of Polowzians, marched against Kiew, which city he had lost, but which he attacked, and with their assistance recovered.

In 1162 the Polowzians made another inroad into Russia, and subdued many districts and places on the river Rut. In their ravages they slew one Woibor, who had assisted in putting to death their ally Issjäslaw Dawydowitsch, and thus revenged his murder. But when the rumour of their proceedings was spread abroad, the Tschernje Kobluki marched against them, killed great numbers, recovered the captives, who amounted to no more than one hundred, and took prisoners two of their princes, the sons of Szatmass, with many other persons of distinction. A Russian army pursued them to the Don, and gained a victory over them; but the enemy, though beaten, rallied again and furiously attacked the Russians, who had advanced as far as Rshawzy. On this occasion likewise they were defeated; but the loss of the Russians was so great, that very few of them returned. Rostislaw Mstislawitsch, prince of Smolensk, sought the same year an alliance with the Polowzians, and married his son Rjurik to the daughter of one of their princes named Bjelkun.

In 1165, when Rostislaw, prince of Kiew, was just engaged in assigning a portion of his dominions to his son Dawyd, the Polowzians entered the Russian territories; but Wasiliko, a grandson of Wladimir Monomach, suffered them not to advance far, but went to meet them, and defeated them on the river (Don?). On this occasion the Russians made a considerable booty, and Wasiliko obtained great treasure for the ransom of the prisoners.

The following year Rostislaw and his general Wladislaw in vain endeavoured to prevent a second incursion of the Polowzians, who, rather exasperated than vanquished, entered with increased force at different quarters. Prince Oleg marched, in defence of his territories, against those who were conducted by Bonjäk, and defeated them. On the other hand, the Polowzians were victorious over one Schwarno, whom they took prisoner with his people, and received a considerable ransom for their release.

As in 1167 the Russian princes were on pretty good terms with one another,

Mstislaw of Kiew prevailed on most of them to meet and to adopt the resolution of preparing with united force for an expedition against the Polowzians, in order, if possible, to exterminate them completely. This plan they began the following year to put in execution. When the Polowzians received intelligence of the great preparations of the Russians, they left their habitations and fled; but the Russian troops set out, and, after a march of nine days from Kiew, gained possession of their settlements on the river Ugra, defeated them at Tschernoi Les, and took many prisoners, with the loss on their own side of two killed and one taken. The disharmony which prevailed among the Russian princes prevented the undertaking of a second expedition against the Polowzians.

Gljeb, who in 1168 was placed by the allied princes on the throne of Kiew, was immediately after his elevation involved in hostilities with the Polowzians, who had penetrated into Russia in two divisions, one of which had encamped near Pesotschnoe, while the other, having proceeded along the right bank of the Dnjeper, westward of Kiew, was posted at Korsun. Gljeb made them proposals of peace, which they seemed disposed to accept; but, as he conceived that Perejeslawl was most threatened, he first went thither and concluded a treaty with that part of the enemy's force which was stationed there. Meanwhile the other division fell upon the villages round Kiew, which they completely pillaged, and all the inhabitants of which they carried off into slavery. Besides the villages, they destroyed the towns of Polonnoe, Desjätinnoe and Semitsch, and then returned to their own country. As soon as Gljeb received this intelligence, he sent after them his brother Michael with one hundred men of Perejeslawl and fifteen hundred Berendians, who worsted them in several engagements, and at length gained a complete victory, which cost them a great number of killed and prisoners.

When the Polowzians were informed of the defeat of the Russian princes before Nowgorod on the 25th February 1170, they employed the whole summer in collecting an army, with which in winter they made an irruption over the frozen rivers into Russia. They again ravaged a great number of villages and hamlets in the vicinity of Kiew, making prisoners of the inhabitants. Gljeb was prevented by a severe illness from taking the field against them in person; but at their departure he again sent his brother Michael in pursuit of them with all the Torks and Berendians in his pay. He overtook them on the Bug, and soon afterwards gained a fresh victory, taking from them all their booty, and setting at liberty four hundred captives; after which he returned to Kiew.

In 1183 the Polowzians were at war with the Bulgarians, and as the grand-duke

Wsewolod Georgiewitsch was preparing for an expedition against the same nation, he was unexpectedly joined by a Polowzian army, which entered into a treaty with him and proceeded in conjunction with his troops through the country of the Tscheremisses against the Bulgarians.

The following year, 1184, Swjätoslaw Wsewolodowitsch, prince of Kiew, proposed a new expedition against the Polowzians, in which several Russian princes took a part. With a numerous army he crossed the Ugr, which some call the river Orel and others the Bug. On the fifth day the Russians received advice of the approach of the Polowzians, against whom prince Wladimir, son of Gljeb, was detached with two thousand one hundred Perejeslawlians and Berendians. Though the army of the Polowzians was very strong and comprehended four hundred and seventeen princes, they were nevertheless beaten. Wladimir, taking advantage of their flight, pursued them, killed a great number, and took seven thousand prisoners, among whom were the following sixteen princes: Kobjäk, Osaluk, Barak, Targa, Danila, Baschkard, Tarsuk, Issugljeb, Terewitsch, Eksii or Iksor, Alak, Aturgii with his son, Tetii with his son, and Turandai father-in-law to Kobjäk. This extraordinary victory was gained on the 30th of July.

At the beginning of the year 1186 the princes of Sjewersk, under the idea that the Polowzians were much weakened by this disaster, determined to profit by the circumstance, and, collecting a numerous army, marched against that nation. The Polowzians, still impressed with dread of Russian valour, and divided under several princes, sent to the most remote to acquaint them with the proceedings of the Russians, who had entered the country and were laying it waste with fire and sword. At length they mustered courage, and attacked their enemies, but once more sustained a total defeat. The Russian princes, lulled into security by this victory, spent three days on the field of battle in mirth and jollity, and resolved to cross the Don, in order to exterminate the whole nation. To accomplish this design they were obliged to traverse dreary steppes, in which they were reduced to great extremity by the want of water, and were incessantly harassed by the Polowzians. The latter, having at length received the expected reinforcements, surrounded the Russians, whose horses were so exhausted that they were forced to dismount and fight on foot; but in spite of their bravery they were defeated and partly cut in pieces and partly taken prisoners, so that not a single individual escaped to carry home the melancholy intelligence. Immediately after this victory the Polowzians met with some merchants travelling on business to Russia; by these people they sent tidings of their success together with this message; that the Russians might

come to their countrymen as they intended to visit theirs. Swjätoslaw prince of Kiew immediately solicited the aid of several Russian princes, with whom he marched against the Polowzians. The latter hearing that so great a force was coming against them, evacuated their country and removed to the other side of the Don. Swjätoslaw meanwhile advanced to Konew; but as he met with no Polowzians, he did not think it prudent to follow them through their steppes destitute of water, but turned back and dismissed his troops. The enemy who had watched his motions, pursued him and took all the towns on the Sula. They likewise advanced to Perejeslawl; of which city, after an obstinate engagement, they could not make themselves masters; they nevertheless collected a considerable booty, and took prisoners several Russian princes: on which they once more returned home.

In 1202, after Roman Mstislawitsch had taken Kiew from prince Rjurik, he attacked the Polowzians, defeated them several times, carried off a great number of prisoners, and set at liberty many Christians who were languishing in slavery among them. Rjurik meanwhile had recourse once more to the Polowzians, with whose assistance he made himself master of Kiew on the first of January, 1203. The pillage of the city and the slaughter were dreadful, and many of the inhabitants were carried off by them into captivity.

In 1211 the Polowzians made an incursion into the territory of Perejeslawl and committed great devastations. Four years afterwards, in 1215, they made a similar irruption, and fought a great battle in which they were victorious, and among other persons of distinction took prince Wladimir prisoner, after which they returned home. At length in 1223 Tuschi-Chan, a son of Dschingis-Chan, with his generals Ssena-Nojän and Sudai-Bojadur appeared in the Caucasus and made war upon the Alans, with whom the Polowzians were in alliance; but the Mongol generals found means to detach the latter from this league and subdued the Alans. But soon afterwards Ssena-Nojän and Sudai-Bojadur went to war also with the Polowzians, who quickly united themselves with the Nogays, but were still too weak to oppose the Mongols and therefore solicited the aid of the Russian princes. The combined forces of the Polowzians and the Nogays were defeated in battle, and their princes Kebjakowitsch and Jurgjä Kontschakowitsch were slain. The Polowzians were already driven to the Dnjepr, when one of their most distinguished princes named Kotäk repaired to Galitsch, to his son-in-law Mstislaw Matislawitsch, made presents of horses, camels, and buffaloes to him and other Russian grandees, and besought their assistance. The Mongols indeed strove to prevent the alliance, and sent deputies to the Russians with this message: that the Russians were not their enemies, but only the Polowzians, who had from ancient times been the grooms of the Mongols;

consequently the Russians ought not to take their part. The Mongol messengers were put to death; the Polowzians were furnished with the desired succours; and one of their princes, named Batyi, was baptized.—At length the allies crossed the river Kalka, whose situation is now unknown, and on the 16th of July 1225 a battle took place, in which the Mongols proved victorious. The Polowzians first fled, and falling back upon the Russians threw them into disorder. The rout was complete; not one in ten escaped, for of the men of Kiew alone sixty thousand were slain. The Mongols hereupon penetrated into Russia as far as Great Nowgorod; and in 1229 the Polowzians were partly driven out and partly subdued by them; after which no further mention is made of them in Russian history.

ANSWERS

TO SOME QUESTIONS PROPOSED BY MR. VON KRUG.

Answer to the First Question.

On my arrival at Mosdok I submitted the names mentioned in the first question to an Ossetian from the village of Chillak Bugulte, on the river Fiag or Pog, named Alexei Bugulow Missaost, who had frequently traversed Ossetia and knows almost every family among his country-people; but he assured me that these names do not occur among them; (though they are to be found among the Tscherkessians and Abassians) with the exception of Alak*, which is a very common *prænomen* throughout all the Caucasus, and Tugorchan, a woman's name, which consequently prove nothing.

Among the Tartars and Nogays these names are equally unknown, neither can they be explained by their language; but among the Ckaratschai, a Tartar tribe, inhabiting the village of Elbrus at the northern foot of the lofty mountain of the same name are to be found the families of Urusbi, Kotschi and Osaluk, the first of which names occurs also among the Tschegem.

After I had satisfied myself that these names are neither Ossetian nor Tartar, I sought them among the Tscherkessians, and was assured at Mosdok by Kabardian Mullas that among their countrymen are to be found the following, which I here compare with those from the Russian chronicles.

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* *Alack* is Tartar, and signifies *streaked* or *variegated*.

Names from the Russian Chronicles.	*Tscherkessian.*
Abaruk	Abaruk, i. e. a new comer.
Baschkrat	Baschkrat, i. e. a brave man.
Biiusch	Blusch, a common name.
Jaroslanopa	Ssaroslanopa, a man's name, still in use.
Itlar	Sitla-usch or Itla'usch, the name of a family.
Kobran	Kobran.
Kotschii	Kotschora.
Kurtok	Kurtok.
Kunem	Kunem.
Osaluk	Solok or Schaluk, a celebrated princely family of the tribe of Beslen.
Scharuchan	Scharuchan.
Seluk	Sselluk.
Sokal	Schokal, the name of a princely Kumük family of the tribe of Beslen, near Endery. Among the Ckaratschai and other Tartars there are likewise families which are called Krim-Schokal.
Surbar	Ssulbar.
Saba	Saba.
Tschenegrep	Tschegen-ucho, a princely family of the tribe of Beslen, which more than a century since was driven out of the Kabardah and took refuge in K'achethi. After it had embraced christianity, it received several grants of lands from the Georgian king Wachtang.
Tugorchan	Digorchan.
Urussoba	Uruss-by signifies Russian prince; for the Russians are called throughout almost all Asia *Urúss* or *Oross*; and by the Chinese, who never pronounce the *r*, *O-lö-szü*. *By* is the Tartar-Turkish *Bey*, or *Beg*, which signifies prince.

I lost no time in communicating these observations to Mr. von Lehrberg and likewise to Mr. von Krug, and soon after received from the former the following letter, dated March 29, 1808:

" The particulars you have given us respecting the Polowzian names that occur among the Tscherkessians appear to me extremely curious and interesting. I should hope that you will find opportunities for prosecuting this discovery: for however striking it may be that any one of these names should be susceptible of explanation by the language, yet many difficulties stand in the way of the direct conclusion which might be drawn from this circumstance. It is well known that in this very country (still more than in Hungary) nations the most different in origin have been mingled together; and that living in mutual dependence, sometimes conquerors, at others conquered, they may during the intercourse of peace have borrowed much from one another. To this must be added a remark of Pallas, which, whether well-founded or not, is calculated to create doubts. Where this excellent man ventures a conjecture, that the manner in which the Tscherkessians live with their wives may possibly have given rise to the fable of the Amazons (that is to say, if the Tscherkessians were such very ancient inhabitants of these mountains), he observes: (*Reise in die südl. Statth.* i. 390.) 'It is natural to imagine that the Amazons, when overcome by the wandering equestrian tribe of the Tscherkessians, retained some of their ancient customs; for without doubt it was by force of arms that the Tscherkessians first acquired a nation of vassals, who gradually adopted the *language of the conquerors*, as did the Livonians that of their German masters. [*Erroneous.*] Nay, perhaps the Tscherkessian language, which has no affinity to any other, was originally a *kind of gibberish* [?]: for even at present the prince and people of distinction are said to have *again*, a new and peculiar language which they use among themselves during expeditions, but which they keep secret, so that the common people are unacquainted with it.'—I must own that I for one cannot give credit to this story concerning the gibberish and the new-coined language: but it is likely enough that two different languages may be spoken among the people; and further inquiries on the subject might lead to some conclusions. The wide-spread nation whose territories extend almost from the Caspian Sea to that of Asow, has hitherto remained insulated in regard to its history, while every other has some connexion with such as are already known.—For the rest I need not remark that Pallas seems to have followed Reineggs (i. 245.) and that the latter (in another place) says that the Tartar language is current among the Kabardians.—A mountaineer, who was

here about a year and a half since, asserted that those Polowzian names were to be found among the Balkarians and Kargu-utzi, and were partly pure Tartar, as (if I am not mistaken) *Itlar*, which in the Tartar signifies *dog*."

Before I return to the Polowzian names among the Tscherkessians, I must make some observations on the double or secret language of that nation. The first that mentions it is Reineggs, who calls it *Sikowschir*, but which ought to be written *Schakobschè*. I have not been fortunate enough to meet with Tscherkessians who understood it; or perhaps they merely use this pretext that they may not betray the secret. So much however is certain, that it actually exists; but all of whom I made inquiries on the subject were of opinion that it was first invented about a century since, and contains only the most necessary words that are employed in marauding expeditions. This is also proved by the sixteen words given by Reineggs, which have no resemblance either to the common Tscherkessian, or to any other language in the world. Besides this, the Kabardians have another secret mode of expressing themselves, which they call *Farschipsé*, and which consists in introducing *ri* or *fe* between each of the syllables of the language of common life. A similar practice is likewise employed by the boys in our schools to puzzle one another. That the Tartar is very generally diffused throughout the Caucasus as well as over all western Asia, and is understood not only by the Tscherkessians and Ossetes, but also by the Tschetschenzes and Lesgians, is well known; yet this is the case only with the more opulent people, or with such as have frequent intercourse with the neighbouring Nogays and Kumücks.

I now return to the Polowzian names, of which *Itlar*, according to the report of the above-mentioned mountaineer, who was at St. Petersburg, signifies *dog*. Taken as a Tartar word *Itlar* would be the plural of *It*, dog; but *dogs* can scarcely be the name of *one* individual, were we even to suppose that any person were called *It*, dog. Whether the other names occur or not among the Balkarians I have not been able to learn with certainty; but among the kindred nation of the Ckaratschai at the source of the Ckuban only the three above mentioned, *Urusbi*, *Kotschi*, and *Ossaluk*, are known. In order, however, to make quite sure of the matter, I applied to the Nogay prince Dudaruk, who was educated by a Kabardian, who had traversed the whole northern and western Caucasus, and had been several times at Anapa and Dsugotschuck-ckala'h on the Black Sea. He gave me the following, as I conceive, satisfactory information respecting the names submitted to him, which seems to remove all doubts of their Tscherkessian origin.

Abaruk. A family name which occurs among the Schapschich, a Tscherkessian tribe inhabiting the plain as far as Anapa. There is likewise a family named Abarocko among the Abassech, who reside upon and at the foot of the mountains between the Laba and the river Sabdja.

Alak. A very common *prænomen* in the whole western Caucasus, and likewise the name of a family among the Shani, a Tscherkessian tribe residing on the coast of the Black Sea, opposite to the fortress of Talisini, near Anapa.

Altunop. A family of the western Abassech towards the Black Sea.

Aturgii. The name of a family now almost exterminated, belonging to the Kabardian tribe of Beslen, which roves along the Laba, and borders on the Abassech.

Bliusch. The name of a family of the Kemurquähe (in Russian and Tartar, *Temirgoi*), a Tscherkessian tribe, residing among the Black Mountains along the river Schaghwascha and the small streams that fall into it. *Blusch* is likewise to be found in the Great Kabardah.

Bonjak. A family of the Schapschich, in the village of Schmitt.

Jaroslanopa. The family of Jaroslanop is met with in the Great Kabardah.

Itlar. Eltarch. A family of the Kemurquähe (Temirgoi).

Kobkak. Kopasga. A family of the Bscheduch, a Tscherkessian tribe, on the rivers Pschischa, Pschachomat, and Dschokups.

Kobran. A peasant family between the Abassech and Schapschich.

Kunam. Churam is a family name in the Great Kabardah.

Kurka. Kurgu'aka is the name of a distinguished family of the tribe of Beslen.

Kurtok. Kurtschok is a family name among the Abassech.

Osaluk. A common prænomen. There is likewise a family called *Osaruk*, residing on the Malkah in the Great Kabardah.

Sokal. Soqual. A name among the Abassech.

Urusoba. Urusbi. A family of the Abasses.

Weldius or *Waldusa.* Jaldüss is the name of a family in the southernmost part of the Great Kabardah.

Tugorkan. A name among the Ckaratschai.

Thus it appears that the Polowzian names preserved in the Russian chronicles are for the most part to be found among the Tscherkessian tribes, a circumstance which does not militate against historical probability, since we know that this nation formerly extended much further to the north; and perhaps at a still more remote period

did not dwell so far eastward in the Caucasus as at present. That the Tscherkessian language was spread over the western Caucasus, and at the mouth of the Ckuban, so early as the time of Constantine Porphyrogenneta (A. D. 948) is proved by the name of a place mentioned by him, *Ssapaxis* (Σαπαξις), which, according to his translation, signifies *dust* in the Sychian language, and *Ssapa* in the Tscherkessian still means the same thing, while the *xis* annexed to it is a common Greek termination.

Answer to the Second Question.

One of the most important questions which must first be answered before we can possibly elucidate the dark history of a nation is certainly this: *How does it call itself and its neighbours?* Innumerable errors would not have been committed had this point always been kept in view in difficult historical inquiries, or had the authors of them been able to keep it in view, for these necessary data are very frequently wanting.

The Ossetes call themselves *Ir* or *Iron*, and their country *Ironistan*. How admirably does this circumstance coincide with the discovery that their language is nearly half composed of Median words! According to Herodotus the Medes formerly called themselves *Arianoi*, and their country and that part of Persia over which they had spread is still in the New Persian denominated *Iran*. In the Old Persian inscriptions of Nakschi-Rustam and Kirmanschach, of the times of the Ssassanides, explained by the learned Silvestre de Sacy, the kings of Persia are constantly termed *Malkâ Irân ve Anirân*—sovereigns of Iran and what is not Iran; and on the coins of that dynasty, *Malkâ malkân Irân*, king of the kings of Irân*. Thus the Ossetes in the Caucasus are allied to the ancient Medes not only by their language but also by their name.

The language of the Ossetes nevertheless contains a great number of words which are not Median, and have no resemblance to any known tongue. According to their own report this nation has not always inhabited the Caucasus, but removed thither from the Don. Diodorus Siculus relates that the Scythians carried a Median colony to Sarmatia, and in Pliny we find descendants of the Medes and Sarmatians on the Tanais. At the mouth of that river Ptolemy places the nation of the Ossilians. As the Ossetes assert that they came from the Don, it is extremely probable that they were these Median Sarmatians of the ancients, and the unknown words

* Silvestre de Sacy, *Mémoires sur diverses* Antiquités de la Perse. 1793. 4to.

in their language are in all likelihood Sarmatian*. *Don*, for instance, signifies in Ossetian *water* or *river*; and this Sarmatian root still exists in many names of rivers in the east of Europe, as in *Don*, *Danapris*, *Dnjeper*, *Danaster* (Dniester), *Düna*, *Donau* (Danube), &c. It is remarkable that this last river in ancient times bore the name of *Donau* or *Danubius* only in the middle part of its course, where it bounded the country of the Jasygian Sarmatians, whereas much lower down and at its mouth it still retained the name of *Ister*.

In the Byzantine historians the Ossetes are never mentioned either under that or any similar appellation, so that in those times they must have been known by some other name. We find that on the spot where the Ossetes are now established in the Caucasus were situated the principality and metropolis of Alania; and the most important of all the passages which demonstrate this is that of Constantine Porphyrogenneta, where he says that Alania was in the neighbourhood of the Ssuanes.

In the beginning of the 11th century Mstislaw Wolodimirowitsch subdued the island of Thaman, which belonged to a prince not named by Nestor, but who, he tells us, was lord of the Jasses and Kassoges, that is, prince of Alania and Kasachia. These Jasses are the Asses of the monks who travelled in the 13th century, who declare them to be the same people with the Alanians, and assert that these again are the Walaon of the Germans. These Ass then must either be the Ossetes themselves, or the Tartar tribes of Balkar and Tschegem dwelling in their country (Alania) and still denominated Assi by the Ossetes. It is very possible, however, that the Ossetes themselves may here be meant, for they are called Oss by all the Tartar tribes. Ptolemy also places the Alauni and Alaunian mountains close by his Ossilians; and part of the Asses probably remained behind at the mouth of the Don, where they seem at a very early period to have founded the city of *Asack* (Asow), which is still named after them. It was likewise the Alanians on the Don, who served under Noga the Tartar, and after his death entered into the service of the Greek emperors, as Pachymeres has very diffusely related. This clue leads down to the 14th century; though that part of the Alanians formed by our present Ossetes were established in the Caucasus since the 10th century, and according to the history of Georgia at a much earlier period. On this subject, however, that document gives a circumstantial account of their removal from the plains and lower hills to the lofty snow-mountains, for fear of Timur's invasion.

* I hope that none of my readers is so little conversant with the history of the middle ages as to confound the Sarmatians with the Slaves, or Slavonians.

A Russian missionary who lived twenty years in the midst of the Ossetes assured Count Potocki that there is still a family of the name of *Alan* among them: their country, including part of that occupied by the Tschetschenzes, is constantly called by the Arabian geographers *Beläd Allan*, the land of Allan; and several writers, conceiving that they have found in this appellation the Arabic article *al*, have translated it the *Land of Lan*. Some of the Asiatic geographers themselves seem to have given occasion to this misconception, by terming *Dariel* (the Caucasian gate of the ancients) *Bab-allan*, which correctly translated is the *Gate of Lan*, though it is intended to signify the *Gate of Allan*. They were probably desirous of avoiding the cacophony *Alallan*.

The Tscherkessians are called by the Ossetes	Kasach or Kessek.
The Ckaratschai	Karatschi.
The Malkarians (Balkarians) and Tschegem	Assi.
The Inguschеs	Anguischté.
The Southern Inguschеs	Makkal.
The Lesgians	Lek.
The Tschetschenzes	Cezen.
The Georgians	Gurdshiak.
The Imerethians	Imeretak.
The Armenians	Ssomishak.
The Persians	Chadshar. This is the name given throughout the whole of the Caucasus to the followers of Ali. They are mortally hated by the inhabitants of these mountains, who, if they profess Islamism, are commonly Sunnites. It would seem that our German word *Ketzer* (heretic) has some affinity with this *Chadshar*.

Answer to the Third Question.

After many fruitless efforts I have at length procured seven of those shapeless copper coins inscribed with Cufic characters. Some are round, others oval, and others again pointed on one side. They all bear the same inscription, namely, on one side, *Essültan elmuadsem*, the mighty Sultan; and on the other the words *Dshelál eddunia va eddin*, that is, the Glory of the World and of the Faith. Unfortunately the legend round the margin, probably containing the name of the place

and the date of the year in which the piece was coined, is absolutely illegible. The form of the Cufic letters and the history of those countries enable us to conclude with certainty that these coins are of the time of *Dshelâl eddin Mankberni.*

This Dshelâl-eddin was the last sultan of Chârism, and bore the title of Chârism-Schâh. He was the eldest son of Sultan Mohammed, after whose death he succeeded to the sovereignty of the province of Gasnah, which his father had previously ceded to him. From this quarter he sought to revenge the defeat which his father had sustained from the Mongols, whom he actually beat in several actions: but the disharmony of his generals caused the number of his troops to be greatly diminished, and he was therefore necessitated to avoid a decisive engagement, and to go to India. Dshingis-chan, having received intelligence of his retreat, hastily pursued him through Kabûl, and overtook him before he had time to cross the Indus or Ssind. As the Mongols were far superior in number to his army, Dshelâl-eddin with the bravest of his troops endeavoured to swim over the river, but only himself and seven of his companions succeeded in the hazardous attempt, while his camp and his hharem fell into the hands of the Mongols. This happened A. D. 1221.

In a short time, however, he assembled a considerable army, with which he subdued a great part of the north of India; and hearing that Dshingis-chan had again retired beyond the Dshinhun, he returned after an absence of three years to the south of Persia.

In 1226, Dshelâl-eddin had subdued Adsarbidjan and entered Gurdshisstân or Georgia, the king of which country went to meet him with a greatly superior army. As part of the Georgian force consisted of Chasarian auxiliaries, Dshelâl-eddin reminded the latter of the important service which he had rendered to their nation in effecting a reconciliation between them and his father; upon which they immediately left the Georgians and returned home, that they might not appear ungrateful to their benefactor. Though the enemy was considerably weakened by this defection, the sultan would not immediately take advantage of the circumstance, but transmitted proposals for a negotiation to the king of Georgia. While this was going on, the bravest men of both armies engaged in single combats, and Dshelâl-eddin himself in disguise exhibited proofs of his wonderful strength and intrepidity. Disturbances in Persia indeed prevented the vigorous prosecution of the war with Gurdshisstân; but after they were suppressed, he renewed it with great spirit, gave the Georgians a signal defeat, and the same year made himself master of Tiflis, by which means all Georgia as far as the Caucasus became subject to his power.

According to the Georgian writers, the refusal given by their queen Russudan to Dshelâl-eddin, who courted her hand, was the cause of the last war with Georgia, as will be found in my extracts from its history. That country was in fact subject to him at an earlier period; for the coins of three of its sovereigns, Giorgi lascha, son of Thamar, Russudan, daughter of Thamar, and Narin Davith, son of Giorgi, who reigned from 1220 to 1231, all bear the name of the *Ssulthân Dshelâl-eddin*. But these coins are much neater than the shapeless pieces to which Mr. von Krug's question refers; neither are the names of the Georgian monarchs upon the latter; so that it is very possible they may have been cast (for they have not the least appearance of having been coined) in some of the provinces bordering on the Caucasus.

These coins might be attributed to another Dshelâl-eddîn Massûd, of the dynasty of the Ghasnewides, who reigned from the year 1088 to 1115 of the Christian æra, were not his principal name Massûd wanting upon them. It is true likewise that the dominion of the Ghasnewides never extended so far westward.

As to the oblong quadrangular copper coins with the impression of a sabre, I much doubt whether they are to be found in the graves of the Ossetes: this is denied by all the individuals of that nation of whom I made inquiries, and even the person by whose means I procured the coins mentioned above never heard of such a thing. On the other hand, it is certain that in Gandshah such pieces as Reineggs describes have for a long time been coined, with a sabre which commonly terminates in two points, on one side, and an inscription on the other; as for instance, on some that I possess: *Dharbi fulûss Gandshah*, 1212—this copper coin was struck at Gandshah, 1212 (1797). There are older ones of 1152 of the Hedshirah (1739) and other years, which bear the same impression. Besides these I procured two other copper coins, struck at Gandshah, of the same form, but stamped with the figure of a fish instead of a sabre.

At Chói or Chuy, a town of Armenia on the river Kolur, a branch of the Araxes, which has its own châh, are likewise struck quadrangular, oblong and circular copper coins, with two sabres on one side, and on the other the words *Dharbi fulûss Choi*—copper coin struck at Choi. The most numerous are of the years 1790 and 1784.

There is certainly no connexion between these coins and the ancient Chinese ones in the form of a knife, the description of which by Du Halde was only repeated by Hager; for the latter are of too high antiquity, and belong to the times of the dynasty of Chan from the year 207 before Christ to A. D. 220. Assuming the statement of Reineggs, that many of the above-mentioned coins found among the Ossetes

bear the impression of the K'achetian king Theimuras, to be correct; still that monarch lived in the middle of the 17th century, consequently fourteen hundred years after the extinction of the dynasty of Chan. For the rest, the Chinese coins here alluded to are cast in the shape of a knife, for which reason they are named *Dao;* whereas those of Gandshah and Choi merely exhibit the impression of a sword.

All the small copper coins of the value of half a copeck are in Georgia denominated *Phuli*, a term derived from the Persico-Turkish *púl*, which properly signifies a scale of a fish (*peschís, bâlyck puli*); but in earlier times was given to all the small silver coins, as *folli* was in Latin and φυλλις or φολις in Greek. Thus the Turks say, *Acktscheh púl jock*, He has neitherfarthing nor penny—*Gendiniin ortadeh púli jock*, He has no right to a penny.

The word *puli* or *pul* has some affinity to *fuluss* or *fels*, which is now used in other countries of Asia to denote copper coin, for the latter also signifies fishes' scales. It is derived from the Arabic root *fallassa*—he was declared to be poor; and in the dictionaries are to be found the following words deduced from it, which have a reference to coins: الفُلْسُ, الفُلُسُ plur. أَفْلُسٌ and فُلُوسٌ *quadrans, minuta.* الأَفْلَسُ *hujusmodi monetæ mercator.* الفَلَّسُ *qui ne quadrantem quidem habet.* فلوس السمك *Squammæ piscium.*

In Armenian *puch* signifies money, whether it be a great, small, or indefinite sum.

Answer to the Fourth Question.

At present there is no coin named *Tanga* or *Tünga* either in Georgia or in Daghestan and Persia: but the Persian language still retains the word *dâneg* or *däng*, which denotes the fourth part of a drachma, or the sixth of a *metsckal* (1½ drachma). The Arabs have transformed the Persian word into *daneck* or *dänyeck*, and make the plural of it *danâck* and *dewanick*; but with them it denotes the sixth part of a drachma. A miser is therefore called *Abu dewanick*, father of farthings. *Danek* in Persian is likewise synonymous with the above-mentioned *pul*.

Among the coins of the successors of Dshingis-chan in Ckapdshack, brought by me from Madshar, is one of copper inscribed *däneg*, which is rather larger than the rest.

Answer to the Sixth Question.

The Tigur or Uitigur mentioned by Reineggs cannot, from the description of the country inhabited by them, be any other nation than the Ossetian Dugores, who are called by the Tscherkessians *Digor-Kusch'ha*, by the Russians *Dugor*, and in their own language *Tugur*. Though I made inquiry of several native Tugurians, none of them knew the name of Uitigur; but at the source of the Uruch, on the banks of which this nation resides, is a large village, *Istirdugor*, situated near the Snow-mountains, on the south side of which also rises the Rion. But that the language of the Dugorians is not of Tartar origin, is proved by the Vocabulary which I am about to publish; on the contrary, it is a dialect differing very little from the Ossetian. It should be observed that with Reineggs the term *Tartar* has no precise signification, for he applies it to the Tscherkessians and Abassians (i. p. 272.)

Answer to the Eighth Question.

I have seen one of the copper coins here mentioned, at Tiflis, in the possession of Mohammed ben Ilia, a mulla of Daghestan, who would not sell it at any price, but wore it as an amulet, and kept it for a talisman against all kinds of misfortunes. On the obverse appears a dragon that has torn off the head of a quadruped (whether it be a horse it is difficult to determine) which he is holding between his fore paws. Above are two stars. The reverse bears the inscription: *Dharbi fulûss derbend*—copper coin struck at Derbend, 1115. (A. D. 1703.)

In Georgia there were similar coins of three different kinds. The first exhibits on the obverse a lion standing over a horse at whose neck he is biting. The reverse has the words "copper coin struck at Tiflis, 1148" (1735). This coin appeared during the reign of Theimuras, king of Karthulia, father of Irak'li or Heraclius. The second has on the obverse a lion, which like the former is seizing a horse by the neck, and on the reverse the inscription "copper coin struck at Tiflis, 1168" (1754). In the middle of the third is the name of Theimuras, in Georgian characters; and on the same side it has the same inscription as the others, in Arabic letters, but with a different date, 1169 (1755). I had an opportunity of collecting several of these coins, though they are now rare and no longer current.

Answer to the Ninth Question.

The account given by Gärber of the writing which the Awarian Uma Chan exhibited in 1727 in the Russian camp, and which is said to owe its origin to Batuchan, a grandson of Dshingis, who reigned over the Ckapdshack Tartars at Ssaray from 1226 to 1256, may very possibly be correct. Though Gärber calls it a Tartar document, this by no means affects the merits of the case; for he was probably not acquainted either with the Tartar or the Mongol-Igurian characters, which last Batu and his successors down to Tocktoguchan († 1313) employed even upon their coins. That for the rest, this work is written in Igurian characters, and not with Arabic letters as usual for the Tartar language, is proved by the circumstance that none of Uma Chan's subjects could read it, and that it was taken for Russian. It is likewise well known that in those times all important state papers were composed in the Mongol tongue. An interpreter both for the writing and language might therefore easily be found in every Calmuck Lama. The Lesgian prince Ibrahim, to whom I am indebted for much information respecting his native country, knew nothing of this document.

Answer to the Eleventh Question.

Gärber says, in his Observations on Bayer's *Geographia Russiæ ex Constantino Porphyrogenneta:* "The *Lazii* here mentioned were indisputably the *Lesgi*, whose country is called by the Persians *Lesgistan:* but under this name were comprehended several provinces and nations, as the *Taulinzi, Akuschinzi, Cubinzi, Kuräly, Dagestani, Dschari, Kumuki, Chailaki, Tabassaran*, and others who partly dwell between, partly near the foot of the Caucasian mountains on the east, or toward the Caspian Sea. Though these nations speak various and totally different languages, there is nevertheless a peculiar tongue, called the Lesgian, and principally used in Cuba by the Kuräli and Kuräi, and also by some of the inhabitants of Daghestan. This last has not the least affinity with the other languages spoken in those countries.

"According to the report of the Georgians, the Lesgi in ancient times extended to the Black Sea, and consequently over Imereti and Mingrelia. They were afterwards driven thence by the *Cargweli* (Kharthli) or *Carduel* (as the Europeans pronounce it), and obliged to retire to the mountains.

These observations are full of errors and misconceptions, as the present Lesgi are there confounded with the Lasi (Lazi, Λαζοι) who, according to Procopius, Agathias and others, were one and the same people with the Colchians, so that both appellations were indiscriminately employed. They inhabited both shores of the Phasis, and formed a considerable state which extended over Imerethi, Mingrelia, and Guriel, but was bounded on the east by Iberia. Their capital was *Kotiäum* or *Kutatisum*, the modern Khuthaissi in Imerethi. Their southern frontier was nevertheless but one day's journey from the left bank of the Phasis. The Lasi therefore belonged to the race of the Georgians, whose language they likewise spoke; but their state, having split into several that yet exist, as Imerethi, Mingrelia and Guriel, ceased to be mentioned in history. The name of *Las* is still borne by some tribes of savage banditti residing between the port of Bathumi and Trebisond, on the rivers Garachi, Makrié and Ssoruk. The principal villages on their coast are Guté on the river Makrié, and Rize, midway between that place and Trebisond. Their language corresponds with the Mingrelian. They themselves frequently serve as seamen in the Turkish ships in the Black Sea. Hervas, in his *Vocabularium Polyglottum*, p. 65, has likewise confounded these people with the Lesgians. In de l'Isle's map of Georgia and Armenia their country is called *Ischaneti*.

Reineggs has however committed an egregious error in placing the settlements of these people to the north of *Anaklia*, on the southern declivity of the Caucasus, for not one of the Iberians and Georgians of whom I made inquiry on the subject knew any thing of them: the territories of the *Suanes* indeed extend thither; and these speak a dialect which is allied to the Mingrelian, but very much mixed. Reineggs represents his Lazi or Lasi as inhabiting a barren, sandy soil, watered by the rivulets *Alatis* and *Zupi*, and speaking a peculiar language, which is an extremely corrupt dialect of the Greek. Were this last circumstance correct, which I much doubt, it would be a still stronger evidence that they cannot be descendants of the ancient Lasi, who are known to have spoken the Georgian language in the Mingrelian dialect. To conclude, Reineggs gives another piece of information totally inconsistent with geographical truth, which proves that he could never have visited the spot, where he says: "An open and convenient road leads from the northern side of the Caucasus, or the banks of the river Kuban, through the territories of these people, to Anaklea, and forward to Anatolia, so that the traveller has no occasion to ascend the Caucasus itself." There is certainly such a road from the Upper Kuban to Anaklea or Anakria on the Black Sea; but on this you are of

course obliged to pass over the Snowy-mountains of the Caucasus. It runs from the stone bridge which leads among the high mountains across the *Ckuban*, over the rivers *Teberda*, *Ssona*, *Kardeneck*, *Akssaut*, over the little and great *Indshick* or *Selentschuck* and the *Jefir*, through a tolerably level country, to the source of the *Urup*, from this last to the upper *Laba*, and thence over the Snowy-mountains to the southern side of the Caucasus, along the river *Enguri*, which discharges itself on the right of Anaklea into the Black Sea. Concerning another road, which also leads from the *Ckuban* to Imeretia and Mingrelia, I shall have occasion to speak elsewhere.

For the rest, I have not been able to collect the slightest confirmation of Gärber's assertion that, according to the report of the Georgians, the Lesgi in ancient times extended to the Black Sea, either from the History of Georgia, or from learned natives: on the contrary, according to the traditions of these people, the Lesgi, since the erection of the state of Kharthli, resided among the high mountains beyond the Alasani, and are descended from Lek'os, a son of Thargamos.

Gärber further says, in his Observations, "It is well known that, after the extinction of the Egyptian kings or sultans, the *Mamelukes*, as they are called in history, made themselves masters of that country, of which they were dispossessed by the Turks. These *Mamelukes* were formerly Gorian Circassians, who were esteemed the best soldiers in all Asia (indeed they are still very brave people, and particularly excellent and swift horsemen), and the Egyptian sultans have maintained them at a great expense as their prime troops. A proof of this is, that the *Circassians* are still called by the Arabs *Mämlächi*, which the Europeans have transformed into Mamelukes."

This account is not perfectly accurate; for the dynasty of the *Tscherkessian Mamelukes* was not the first *Mameluke* dynasty in Egypt, having been preceded by the Bahhrite, the origin of which is as follows:—On the invasion of the Ckipdschack by the Mongols, many of the inhabitants of that country fled; some went to Hungary, but others were taken prisoners, and carried by merchants to Egypt. Zâlehh Nodschem eddin Ayub, one of the last sultans of the dynasty of the Ayubites in Egypt, purchased many of these Turkish slaves, out of whom he determined to form a body-guard. To this end he sent them to Rudah, a town on the sea-coast, to be trained; and hence they received the name of Bahhrites, from *Bahhr*, sea. But after his death these strangers grew so powerful that they placed whomsoever they pleased upon the throne; till at length one of them, a Turcoman, named Ibeg,

in the year 1250, ascended it himself, and with him commenced the dynasty of the Bahhrite Mamelukes in Egypt, which ended with Aschraf Hhadshi in 1382. Barkok was a Tscherkessian slave, who had been bought by one Othmann, and carried first to the Krym, and afterwards to Egypt, where he obtained his freedom, and was received among the Bahhrite Mamelukes who were then masters of that country. He soon endeavoured to make a party at Ckahira, and on the 19th Ramadan 784 (1372) deposed the sultan Malek ezzahhleh el Aschraf Hhadshi, but was himself dethroned in 1389, when Aschraf was restored to his former situation. The latter ordered him to be confined at Krack, and would have put him to death; but Barkok found means to escape to Damascus, where he assembled an army with which he defeated Aschraf, and once more mounted the throne of Egypt in 1390. Most of his successors were, like himself, Tscherkessians; and it was not till 1517 that their empire ended with Tuman-bey, who was beaten and taken prisoner by the Turkish sultan Sselim I. The dynasty of these Tscherkessian Mamelukes is likewise called that of the *Bordshites*. Since that time, the Mamelukes have nevertheless maintained themselves in Egypt in a kind of independence, but they have ceased to be entirely composed of Tscherkessians. Purchased slaves of all nations, and frequently Christian renegadoes, formed this corps, which till very lately continued to retain its power and importance, but whose authority at present seems to be much on the decline.

When Gärber says that the *Magjares* or *Madshjari* dwelt among the Tscherkessian mountains to the north, he is led into this mistake by the ruins of the ancient city of Madshar on the Ckuma, of which I shall treat circumstantially in my Travels. Throughout all the Caucasus you would search in vain for accounts of such a people.

Whether the Alanes still actually reside near the Black Sea, in the vicinity of the Abchassians, is very uncertain. Learned Georgians have nevertheless assured me that in Abcheseti there are two districts which are called by them Alalethi and Papagethi; but where these districts lay they could not state with precision. According to the History of Georgia, king Wachtang Gurgaslan, who reigned in Georgia, about the year 455 took Mingrelia and Abchassia, and subdued the province of Patschangi. Here Davith, son of the last Georgian king, *Giorgi*, who has published a sketch of the history of his country, remarks that *Patschangi* is the present *Abasa*. There then the remains of those Alanes must reside, if they really still exist. According to some accounts, the Asgé, who dwell near the

sources of the Ubbuch, have a peculiar language, wear hats, and are also called *Alanes**.

* Reineggs says: "North-eastward from the Lasii, just at the commencement of the separation of the Keraunian and Gordyæan mountains, are the settlements of a poor, not numerous tribe, named the *Alani*; the Tartars call it *Osty* or *Edeki Alan*. These people speak a peculiar dialect of the ancient Caucaso-Tartar language, and are hereby distinguished from another numerous nation which resides to the south south-east of the highest valleys of the principal range, and also speaks a distinct language. It calls itself *Tson*; but among its neighbours it goes by various names, as *Soan*, *Sonti*, *Tsinti*; and the valleys inhabited by it they denominate *Tsuaneti*." (ii. p. 15.)

A curious mistake has been made here. It is the *Suanes* who reside to the south-east of the great Tscherkessian tribe Kemurquähe or Temirgoi, which is subject to princes of the family of Aitek. Reineggs probably received his information from Tartars, who call this family, in their language, *Aitekki alan*; for *Al*, in the plural *Alán*, signifies a *family*; consequently *Aitekki Alan* means the *families of Aitek*.—Out of this then it was that Reineggs made his Alanes.

TRAVELS

IN

THE CAUCASUS AND GEORGIA.

CHAPTER I.

DEPARTURE FROM ST. PETERSBURG—CARRIAGES—POST-REGULATIONS IN RUSSIA—SWIFTNESS OF THE COURIERS—MODE OF TRAVELLING AND ITS INCONVENIENCIES—ROAD TO MOSKWA—GREAT NOWGOROD—ORIGIN OF THAT CITY—ITS PRESENT STATE—BRONITZKOI YAM—REMARKABLE HILL—WALDAI—BEAUTY OF THE WOMEN OF THAT PLACE—BELLS FOR TRAVELLING-CARRIAGES—WYSCHNEI WOLOTSCHOK—TORSHOK—TWER—ITALIAN MERCHANT THERE—KLIN—BLACK MUD—MOSKWA—BOTANICAL GARDEN AT GORENKI—HOSPITALITY OF THE RUSSIANS.

After all the obstacles which had delayed my departure from St. Petersburg were removed, and I had received the money and papers that I was to carry with me, I took care to procure the necessary travelling passport (*Podoröshnaja*), and had it drawn up in such a manner that I might pursue any route I pleased, and likewise return in case of necessity without a new pass. This is a most needful precaution for every person who designs to make a scientific tour in Russia, for without it he is almost always obliged to follow the regular post-roads. Private individuals indeed cannot obtain a pass so worded, since they would be required to pay as many copecks for it as they mean to travel wersts; consequently the number of the latter must be previously specified in the pass. After the receipt of this pass, the traveller is not allowed to stay longer than twenty-four hours in St. Petersburg; and, impatient of the delay which I had experienced, I hastened my departure from that metropolis.

At seven in the morning of the 15th of September, 1807, I left it by the Moskow gate in company with Bobrinzow, the student. Ourselves and our attendants occupied two carriages, one of which was a well-built chariot on springs, and the other a roomy kibitka, in which we had likewise stowed the books necessary for the journey and other heavy baggage. In journeys of any length, it is the general practice in Russia to encumber carriages built in the German or English fashion with as little luggage as possible; otherwise the traveller would, in consequence of the badness of the roads and the rapid rate at which the postillions drive, be detained by incessant repairs, which moreover cannot every where be performed; for in many places there is not a creature that knows how to join an iron axle-tree, if it should chance to break. On the contrary, should an accident happen to a kibitka, which is almost entirely composed of wood, the damage is easily repaired, as it is a national vehicle.

The post-regulations in the Russian empire are upon the whole highly commendable, for in no other country can you travel so cheaply or so expeditiously; and the driver is satisfied with a very small gratuity. This, however, applies only to persons travelling on behalf of the crown; for merchants, and others who are not in the service, are frequently compelled, by the refusal of the post-masters to supply them with horses, to pay double price (*Progony*). At all the stations several sets of horses are reserved expressly for couriers, and these no other person has a right to demand. Hence it is that the Russian messengers travel with such incredible expedition as would puzzle a German postmaster, were he to bestow due reflection on the matter. Thus the couriers who attended the embassy to China were allowed only twenty-two days to go from Irkutzk to St. Petersburg, a distance of 859 German miles, that is 39 miles in every twenty-four hours*.

To a foreigner, however, who is not accustomed to the Russian mode of travelling, it is extremely inconvenient, as he meets with no inns except in the largest towns, and in the smaller is obliged to make provision for himself, a circumstance which subtracts much from the pleasure of the journey. It is indispensably necessary that he should take with him bedding and culinary utensils; and I, for my part, found a quantity of portable soup and the English sauces in bottles, with which a palatable dish may be quickly prepared, extremely serviceable. I would therefore recommend every traveller in Russia to provide himself with these articles, unless

* The proportion between an English and a German mile is as 1 to 4¾; consequently these men must have travelled at the astonishing rate of about 180 miles a day. T.

he can make up his mind to live by the way on biscuit and Russian cole-soup (*Selonoi Schtschi*) or eggs; for besides these nothing whatever is to be had in the villages. In Lent he will find only salt-fish, or dishes dressed with hemp-oil, which diffuse such a stench that it is scarcely possible to remain under the same roof with them, and still less to taste such victuals.

The weather was favourable, and even at a considerable distance from the capital we met a great number of Russian peasants and German colonists carrying their produce thither to market. All of them were, as usual, singing, or rather bawling. The road from St. Petersburg to Moskwa is one of the worst and most uninteresting in the whole empire; it presents but little variety, and in some parts the villages are so near to one another that you would take several of them for one long, straggling place. In general the houses are all next the road, so that they form a street on each side of it. We travelled all night, and next morning reached Great Nowgorod, which is 184½ wersts from St. Petersburg. This ancient capital of Russia is situated on the river Wolchow, not far from its exit out of the great lake of Ilmen. According to the Russian chronicles, it was founded by the Slavonians returning from the Danube, nearly at the same time as Kiew, about the middle of the fifth century, and called Nowgorod, that is, *the new city*, to distinguish it from another which was situated at the distance of only a few wersts, but had been almost entirely destroyed by the ravages of pestilence and war. On the site, as it is said, of this ancient city, which was called Selowensk, stands a small village which yet bears the name of Staroe Gorodischtsche, or *the ancient ruins*.

The dominion of Nowgorod extended over the districts of Nowgorod, Pleskow, and Bjeloosero, and over the country bordering on the Waga and Dwina, which, as well as the Syrjänes, was tributary to that state. It could bring one hundred thousand men into the field, and its power procured it such respect among its neighbours as to give rise to the proverb, "Who can oppose God and Great Nowgorod?" The form of government was republican; but, weakened by civil dissensions, the Nowgorodians were soon reduced to subjection by the Warjäjes or Russians. With the assistance of their neighbours, indeed, they again drove out the latter; but convinced of their inability to govern themselves well, they sent deputies to the Warjäjan princes, soliciting them to take possession of Nowgorod. Rjurik, with his two brothers Sinaus and Truwor, accordingly repaired to the country of the Slavonians in 862, and two years afterwards completely subjected Nowgorod, which till 880 remained the capital of the Russo-Slavonian monarchy.

In the middle ages, and even a century ago, Nowgorod was a place of considerable

trade; but since the foundation of St. Petersburg it has greatly declined. Excepting some churches, and the fortifications, it exhibits at present few marks of its former grandeur. It is still the capital of the government of the same name, and contains about 8000 inhabitants.

Near the first stage beyond Nowgorod, which is called Bronitzkoi Yam, in a beautiful plain, towards the lake of Ilmen, rises a tolerably steep hill, with a chapel on the top, which, according to a tradition generally current among the neighbouring peasants, was formed at some distant period by human labour. It would in fact be difficult to conceive how an eminence so regular and so round could otherwise have been formed in a tract so perfectly level. Upon it lie huge blocks of granite, which were probably conveyed thither with difficulty for some intended building. Near the chapel is a spring of excellent water, which, according to the report of the peasants, is efficacious in several diseases, but seems to contain no mineral particles. Before we quitted the government of Nowgorod, we passed through the pleasant village of Waldai, seated on a lake which communicates, by means of the river Waldaika, with another not far distant. On one of the islands in the former is a monastery, a stone edifice, agreeably situated, and shaded with trees. Waldai, founded about one hundred and fifty years ago by a colony of Polish captives, is celebrated for the beauty of its females, who surround the carriages of travellers, offering for sale a kind of cakes, here called *baranki*, sheep. I must however confess, that among all those that I saw at Waldai there was not one who might even be called pretty. It is a thriving cheerful place, and the best bells for travelling carriages are made there; for it should be observed, that in Russia it is customary to fasten a large bell to the front of every sledge or other vehicle, which keeps continually ringing with the motion, and gives notice to others, coming in a contrary direction, to keep out of the way. When several carriages are travelling together, and each has a bell of a different tone, the music which they make in the woods is extremely agreeable. Near Waldai the peasants by the road-side sold small boiled crabs.

Wyschnei Wolotschok, the first place of any consequence in the government of Twer, is remarkable for the canal that unites the Twerza, a branch of the Wolga, with the Msta. The latter falls, not far from Nowgorod, into the lake of Ilmen, which is again connected with the lake of Ladoga by means of the Wolchow. By this water-communication goods from any part of Russia may be conveyed up the Wolga into the Ladoga, and out of the latter, up the Newa, to St. Petersburg and the Baltic. The inhabitants of Wyschnei Wolotschok have acquired wealth by the carrying-trade on this canal.

Two stages further we passed through Torshok, a town which is likewise situated on the Twerza, and whose inhabitants chiefly subsist by the sale of very neat articles made of red, yellow and green Turkey leather. The traveller here finds mattresses, pillows, bolsters, Tartar boots and slippers, tobacco-pouches, cases, purses, and many other trifles which by their neatness and elegance invite him to make a purchase; and, as all these things are extremely cheap, strangers rarely pass through Torshok without laying in a little stock of them as presents for friends. The adjacent country is very barren and sandy; and thinly-scattered pines and scanty heath excited in me, as a native of Berlin, recollections of my own country.

For the last time we crossed the Twerza by means of a bridge of boats near Twer, where that river discharges itself into the Wolga, and contributes to swell the importance of the latter. Twer is one of the handsomest towns in Russia: its principal trade is in corn and hemp, which the merchants there buy up in the south of Russia, and send, together with iron, salt-fish and other commodities, to St. Petersburg. Twer owes its origin to Wsewolod Georgiewitsch, who in 1182 erected here a small fortress to check the incursions of the Nowgorod and Torshok banditti at the junction of the Twerza and the Wolga. The inconvenience of the situation, however, caused the first settlers to fix their abode on the hilly bank of the Wolga, where the town now stands, and whither after some time the fortress also was removed. The city, properly so called, was not founded till the year 1240. As it had suffered severely about the middle of the last century from frequent conflagrations, the empress Catharine ordered part of the city to be rebuilt with stone, and contributed greatly to its embellishment. Since that time Twer has become very flourishing, and now contains upwards of 15,000 inhabitants. It is at present the residence of his imperial highness the duke of Oldenburg, who superintends the department of water communication, the seat of which is likewise established here. An Italian who unites a trade in jewellery with the management of a large inn has become wealthy from the general preference given by travellers to his house, which is certainly superior in accommodations to the best in Moskwa. Twer is the staple for the fish of the Caspian sea and the Wolga, which are conveyed to Moskwa and Petersburg partly frozen and partly alive.

The sand, heath, and trees of the pine species accompanied us nearly to Klin, a small cheerful town on both sides of the Ssestra, which, though not very populous, has nevertheless a considerable trade. It is the first that we passed through in the government of Moscow, and is situated in a pleasant, woody country. Tschernaja Grjäs, the last town before we reached Moskwa, justly deserves that name, which

signifies *black mud*, in wet weather; but in summer and dry seasons it is converted into a black dust which exceedingly annoys the traveller.

It had rained the whole day; but towards evening the weather cleared up, so that our postillions could at least avoid the large ponds which stood in the road, and in which we were kept in continual fear of being overturned. When after a slow and cautious journey we were yet several wersts from the gates of Moskwa, I perceived a strong and extremely disagreeable smell, which, as I was assured, proceeded from the city, and grew more intolerable the nearer we approached to it. In the streets, most of which are unpaved, the mud was nearly up to the axle, and it was with difficulty that with our weary horses we reached what is called the Polish inn.

As, according to my instructions, I was to wait at Moskwa for certain papers necessary for my journey, I was under the necessity of prolonging my stay there to several days: but I cannot say that this circumstance afforded me any particular pleasure; for the endless filth and the stench in the streets prevented me from seeing many remarkable objects. For the rest, Moskwa presents a highly diversified and motley spectacle, as it is the last city in Russia which exhibits a mixture of the European and Russian exterior, but the latter considerably predominates. Beside the most magnificent palaces you see ruinous wooden huts, and the middle classes are almost entirely composed of natives; whereas at St. Petersburg these consist almost exclusively of foreigners; for the Russian tradesmen, who are by far the most numerous at Moskwa, are not worth mentioning in the former city.

I did not fail to visit the excellent botanical garden of count Alexis Rasumowski at Gorenki, which lies 22 wersts from Moskwa, on the road to Wladimir. It is a subject of just astonishment to find in the centre of Russia a spot which may vie with any other European establishment of the kind. With great trouble and prodigious expense the rarest plants have here been brought together from every region of the globe; and this valuable collection has this further advantage, of being under the superintendence of that eminent botanist Fischer of Halberstadt. Here he wholly devotes himself to the science in which he excels, and is particularly engaged upon the physiology of plants, which is indebted to him for highly interesting discoveries. The handsome mansion near the garden contains a fine library, which is furnished with the most costly works of England and France. In short, every thing concurs to render Gorenki the most agreeable retreat of the muses in all Russia.

As Moskwa has already been so often described, and much more minutely than I am capable of doing it, I shall say nothing further concerning the place itself, but merely subjoin a few observations respecting the way of living in that city. No

where can more correct notions of the splendour and expense of the Russian nobility be acquired than there. As at Moskwa all persons of higher rank than collegiate counsellor (colonel) have a right to drive six horses, it is not uncommon, when the governor-general gives a state dinner or supper, to see more than twenty coaches and six in the square before his house, the rest of which is completely covered with those drawn by four horses. Upon the whole, there is scarcely a city in the world where coaches are so much used as in Moskwa. That hospitality for which the Russians are celebrated, is here met with in the highest degree, and is certainly exercised in a more generous manner than at St. Petersburg, for there it has sunk into a fashion. The only motive for receiving strangers and inviting them to table at St. Petersburg is ostentation. A person who comes well recommended is immediately asked to dine wherever he has been introduced. He is addressed in such language as this:—"We shall be very glad if you would honour us on Monday with your company," or "Tuesday is our day; we shall expect you without fail." If he accordingly comes on Monday or Tuesday, he finds indeed an abundant table: but the master of the house is much too busy to speak to him, and would be greatly surprised were he to call on any other day, or at any other hour than that of dinner. "What a strange man!" would be the cry: "what can he mean by coming at such a time as this?" &c.—In Moskwa, on the contrary, the stranger is cordially received both by the Russians and Germans, and all vie with one another in rendering his residence among them as agreeable as possible.

CHAPTER II.

DEPARTURE FROM MOSKWA—PODOL—SSERPUCHOW—TRADE AND ORIGIN OF THAT PLACE—THE OKA—NATURE OF ITS BANKS—TULA—IRON MANUFACTURES THERE—INN—MZENSK—ENTRANCE OF THE GOVERNMENT OF OREL—OREL—DESCRIPTION OF THAT CITY—CONVENIENCE OF THE RUSSIAN MARKET-HOUSES—COMMERCE OF OREL—VESSELS ON THE OKA—APPEARANCE OF THE NEIGHBOURING COUNTRY—WOOD-LICE, OR TARAKANS, A GENERAL PLAGUE OF THE RUSSIAN HOUSES—JOURNEY TO KURSSK, THE FILTHIEST TOWN IN RUSSIA—DIMITRI SSEMONOWITSCH CHLAPONIN, A RUSSIAN MERCHANT, WHO TRADES TO GERMANY AND CHINA—HISTORY AND DESCRIPTION OF KURSSK—DEPARTURE FROM THAT PLACE.

On the evening of the 29th of September I left Moskwa to pursue my route through Tula, Orel, Kurssk, and Charkow. The first place of any consequence to which we came was Podol, a small new town, through which flows the Pachra. It is the capital of the circle of the same name, and seems to be a lively and thriving place. Its distance from Moskwa is 35 wersts, or five German miles. On the way thither we met with a singular accident. My companion the student had put a gun, loaded with two large balls, into the kibitka; the piece, owing probably to the jolting of the carriage, went off; and the charge, penetrating through the thin lining of wood, shattered a spoke of one of the fore-wheels.

From Podol it is 53 wersts to Sserpuchow, the chief town of another circle in the government of Moskow, partly situated on an eminence near the rivulet of Sserpeika, four wersts from the left bank of the Oka, which here separates the governments of Tula and Moskow. It carries on a considerable trade in corn, the produce of this and the adjacent circles, which in summer is conveyed hither by water from Orel, Meschtschensk and other districts, and then forwarded by land to Moskwa. The inhabitants likewise purchase in the Ukraine great numbers of cattle, which are chiefly sent to the same market. The remainder they keep for their own consumption, or salt and export, as well as the tallow, which they carry to St. Petersburg. Many ox-hides are also tanned here. Other commodities, in which a considerable trade is carried on, are hemp, honey, tobacco and linen, which last is bought up at the neighbouring fairs, and frequently exported to Nowochoperzk and Zarizyn.

Sserpuchow is said to have been founded in 1374, during the reign of the grand-duke Dimitri Iwanowitsch Donskoi, by his cousin Wolodomir Andrcewitsch, and was taken and destroyed in 1382 by Tocktamisch, chan of Ckapdschack. Here prince Wolodomir Andrcewitsch Donskoi built in 1403 the convent of Wysozkoi, in which St. Sergei ordained his disciple Athanasius as archimandrite. Not long afterwards the town had the misfortune to be destroyed by the Lithuanians, but was soon rebuilt. Of the walls, ten ells in height, and constructed of white stone in 1556 by the Zar Iwan Wassiljewitsch, no traces are now to be seen, as they were so decayed that it was found necessary to take them down.

As I, in common with all foreigners, was exposed at the post-houses to frequent mortifications,—nay, even at the stage before Sserpuchow, an English merchant who had arrived after me was dispatched before us,—I found myself necessitated to make use of the general order to all magistrates and burgomasters with which I had been furnished. I therefore requested the Gorodnitschi (burgomaster) of this place to assign me a police-soldier as far as Tula: an application which was immediately complied with. The adoption of this measure proved extremely serviceable to me throughout the whole journey, as I was thereby secured from all vexatious and unjust demands.

The Oka, which is navigable here, rises in the government of Orel, and discharges itself into the Wolga at Nishnei Nowgorod. The tract immediately contiguous to its banks, which is in many places thirty fathoms and upwards in height, contains, throughout the whole valley in which it flows, strata of stone partly of a sandy and partly of a calcareous nature. The latter exhibit in many places, as for instance near Sserpuchow, remains of petrifactions, which seem to have been congestions of shells, but which are broken into such small fragments that it is impossible to recognise them. Here is a range of float-stone hills, extending to a considerable distance east and west of the Oka, and containing iron ore, which is wrought in several places.

The distance from Sserpuchow to Tula is 93 wersts. The country is at first level, but grows more and more hilly the nearer you approach the town; and the small streams form deep clay-pits in which you frequently perceive strata of sand and lime-stone. The villages through which we passed seem to be opulent; but to us the late rains made them appear extremely dirty. Many of their inhabitants are engaged in breeding sheep, and they likewise keep bees. The hives are formed of hollow trees, in which the bees are said to build in preference to those of any other kind.

Tula is seated on the river Upa, that falls into the Oka, and rises near the lake of Iwan Osero, from which the Don takes its origin. Peter I. designed to unite this lake by a canal with the Upa, and thus to open through the Oka a communication by water between the Don, the Wolga, and the whole north of Russia. Tula is now one of the best and most opulent towns in Russia, and is celebrated all over the empire for its iron manufactures. The streets indeed are not all straight, or paved, but among them are some very handsome ones which are at least equal to many in Moskow. The manufactory of steel and fire-arms here is in constant activity, and supplies great part of the army. It was established so early as the time of Peter I. in 1714; but though it cannot be said to be on the decline in respect to its sale, yet it is true that the articles which it produces, particularly the fire-arms, are far inferior in quality to what they formerly were.

We here alighted at a large inn, the master of which also keeps a hardware shop, but charges double price for his commodities, as he is sure that none of his guests will be so unpolite as to purchase what they want of any other tradesman. For the rest, we here found very good accommodations, indeed much better than we could have expected at any inn in the interior of Russia. It was the last that I entered during my whole journey. I delivered my letters to the governor, and instead of the police-soldier from Sserpuchow was furnished with a dragoon to escort us to Orel.

I left Tula very early on the 2d of October. Our route led through the circles of Krapiwa and Tschern, in the government of Tula, to Mzensk, the first circular town in that of Orel, and only 133 wersts from Tula. As the road was good, we arrived there about nine in the evening; and after a hearty Russian supper, on soup made of bullocks' kidneys, we continued our journey to Orel, only 30 wersts distant.

The city of Orel, properly so called, lies between the Oka and the Orlik, a rivulet which falls into the other on the left side: beyond these two streams are situated the suburbs. The chief part of the city is composed of five quarters, some of which are named after the position of the main streets, and others after its former inhabitants: for here were once Tscherkessians, Little Russians, Strelitzes, gunners, and citizens. In the centre of this part of Orel stands the market-house, the shops of which are stocked with all sorts of Russian and Greek commodities. Such market-houses (*Gostinnoi Dwori*) are to be found in all the towns of Russia, and have this convenience, that the purchaser here finds all he needs in one place, and is not, as with us, obliged to run two or three different ways for what he wants. They generally consist of several rows of permanent stalls or shops (*Lawka*), open

towards the street, and provided with covered colonnades, to shelter purchasers from the rain in bad weather. The market-house is the standard of the wealth and traffic of a place; consequently for a traveller there cannot be a more interesting promenade. In general the shops for the sale of one and the same commodity are close together; thus in large towns you find whole rows in which tea, sugar, and coffee are sold, others for woollen cloths, others again for linen, wax, tallow, &c. The motley concourse of people incessantly coming and going presents a singular spectacle; but it is extremely unpleasant to the passenger to be assailed by the Russian shopkeepers, who continually vociferate, "What do you please to buy?"—"Sugar, tea, coffee!"—"The best hats!"—while they often detain him; so that he cannot be a customer to any of them, for fear of being torn in pieces by the others.

The traders here deal on a large scale in rye, wheat, fine flour, hemp, and glass. The wheat is chiefly exported to Kasan and Astrachan, and the flour to Moskwa and St. Petersburg. The hemp is principally cultivated in the vicinity of Bränsk, Orel, and Sewsk; and the glass is the produce of the manufactories on the Desna, in the districts of the towns of Trubtschewsk and Bränsk. It is conveyed hence by water to Moskwa, and to the towns situated on the Oka and Wolga. At Orel the Oka begins to be navigable, and at the mouth of the Orlik it is 30 fathoms broad. The vessels employed upon it are called *struges*, *barks*, and *patschalks*; the first of which are the largest, and will carry a cargo of 2500 *tschetwert* (coombs) of corn. All these vessels are built on the Oka, 400 wersts below Orel.

On the heights of the rivers Orlik and Oka, particularly on the right side of the latter, just above the town, are several quarries, in which is found sand-stone, used for the foundations of buildings and for mill-stones; and also gray lime-stone of excellent quality. No traces of chalk, it is said, are now discoverable in the vale of the Oka, though it is met with at no great distance, near Bränsk on the Desna. Above the strata of stone, which make their appearance on the lofty shore, lies yellow clay, that furnishes good bricks, which, as well as lime, are burned near the town. In the vicinity of Orel there is but very little wood, and this consists of oak, birch, aspen, alder, and lime-trees; the pine does not make its appearance till 20 wersts below the town, on the Obluch rivulet. The latter affords good rafters for building; but most of the timber for that purpose is floated up the river from the neighbourhood of Kaluga. Wood for building and fuel is also brought hither by land from the vicinity of Karatschew on the Desna.

As we were obliged to stop here all night and the greatest part of the following

day, on account of the unfavourable weather, and to change our dragoon from Tula for another, we were necessitated for the first time to cater for ourselves; for in the quarters assigned to us by the police we found nothing except two wooden benches and a few logs of fire-wood. The place swarmed with *tarakans* (wood-lice), the usual plague of the Russian houses built with wood and stone. These insects are so incredibly numerous, that the ceiling and walls of the rooms are nearly covered with them, and unless the greatest precaution be used they are every moment falling into the victuals and drink. If a loaf of white bread be left all night uncovered, you find it next morning perforated in such a manner by the tarakans as to resemble a sponge. Besides the larger species of tarakans, there is a smaller, which the Russians call *Prussaki* (Prussians). The common people assert that the latter did not formerly exist in Russia, but only made its appearance since the Prussian war, and consequently the Prussians must by witchcraft have created this new annoyance.

Early in the morning of the 5th of October we at length left Orel, and pursued our route to Kurssk, the capital of the government of the same name, 150 wersts distant. It is one of the most ancient, but at the same time the filthiest town that I know of in all Russia. As half of it is situated on a considerable eminence, it was difficult when I was there to get up through the mud, in a droshki drawn by two strong horses, to the governor's house. This filthiness is partly owing to the circumstance of the streets being unpaved, and partly to the neglect of the police, and characterizes most of the towns in the south of Russia. At Pultawa, however, it is reported to exceed all belief, and has become proverbial.

Here I visited the wealthy Russian merchant, Dimitri Ssemonowitsch Chlaponin, with whose agent I had become acquainted during my travels in Siberia, and who had there shown me many civilities. In Mr. Chlaponin I found a well-informed man, who spoke German very fluently, and who had several times been in Silesia to purchase linen and woollen cloth. These he sends in great quantities as far as Kiachta, where they are exchanged for Chinese commodities, chiefly tea, and nankeen (*Kitaika*) of various colours, which are distributed throughout all Russia. This is the usual traffic of the great Russian merchants who do business with China, only with this difference, that very few of them have an immediate connexion with the continent of Europe, but receive their linens and woollens through a third hand.

The house of this hospitable man was arranged and furnished completely in the German style, and we were most kindly received in it. He recollected with plea-

sure his residence at Leipzig and Breslau, and he is the only Russian that I know who prefers the way of living abroad to that of his native country. I gave him a letter to be forwarded to Kiachta, which is about 1000 German miles from Kurssk, and am satisfied that it will go just as safely as any that is sent from Berlin to Leipzig.

Kurssk is conjectured to have been founded in the year 990, in the time of the grand-duke Wladimir, when, after the partition of his dominions among his sons, he designed to build a city near Kiew, which afterwards became the capital of a distinct principality. On the invasion of Batu-chan in 1237, Kurssk, like many other Russian towns, was destroyed by fire; and in 1278 Nagay, a great grandson of Dshingis-chan, subdued the principality of Kurssk. One of his subjects, by descent a Tartar, named Achmet, in 1283 purchased lands in this neighbourhood, and the following year founded two slobodas close to the ruins of the town, where he took all such refugees as resorted thither under his protection. At length, in 1597, during the reign of prince Iwan Feodorowitsch, a miraculous image of the Virgin Mary having been found here, the town of Kurssk was rebuilt, and together with the adjacent country repeopled with colonists from Mzensk and Orel. It had afterwards its own woiwodes: in 1727, on the erection of the government of Belgorod, Kurssk was annexed to it; but in 1779 it became the capital of a new government of the same name, which has ever since retained the form it then received.

Kurssk is one of the largest cities of Russia, and is about six wersts in length. It is an opulent place, and has a flourishing trade, but wants the advantage of a navigable river. Here are nevertheless several fabrics and manufactures, and especially tanneries, which do a good deal of business. The adjacent district is fertile and populous, and the hill of Kurssk overlooks an incredible number of neighbouring villages. At Kurssk the country begins to decline towards the Black Sea and the Sea of Asow, and all the rivers run southward; whereas all those which rise in the government of Orel take a northern direction.

After our kibitka had received some necessary repairs, and we had taken leave of the governor and Mr. Chlaponin, we left this city about noon on the 7th of October.

CHAPTER III.

OBOJAN—CHAMPIGNONS, A NATIONAL DISH IN RUSSIA—KOTSCHETOWSKA—BJELGOROD ON THE DONEZ—THAT TOWN IS NOT SSARKEL, THE CAPITAL OF THE CHASARIAN DOMINIONS—ITS SITUATION AND FOUNDATION—GOVERNMENT OF CHARKOW—ITS HISTORY.

As the road was very good, we reached Obojan, which is only 59 wersts from Kurssk, in five hours. This is a pretty, thriving town, the capital of a circle, seated at the confluence of the rivulet Obojanka with the little river Psiol, which rises not far from this place. As the eating-house here, which was full of guests, appeared rather tempting, we determined to try how we liked the cookery, and found it better than we expected. Among the different dishes that were set before us were some entirely composed of champignons, which are very generally eaten in Russia, especially during Lent, and form a chief article of food with the common people. It is remarkable that, notwithstanding the immense quantities of champignons which are thus consumed, you hear of no fatal accidents occasioned by the use of them, though such are by no means rare in Germany. The peasants of this country must either be extremely skilful in distinguishing those of pernicious quality from the innocent, or perhaps many species here are not so injurious to health as with us. It is usual in Russia to drink brandy both before and after eating champignons; this is thought to promote the digestion of them. The ordinary method of dressing champignons is to stew them with oil or butter, onions and pepper; they are also baked in dough, or small cakes are filled with them and fried in butter.

In the night we came to Kotschetowska, a village in the circle of Obojan, where I resolved to stop till morning, as I had been informed at Obojan that the road thence to Bjelgorod is very unsafe: indeed this delay was rendered unavoidable by some repairs required by the kibitka. We left our quarters, which were not the most agreeable, very early, and on the 8th of October reached Bjelgorod, the last circular town in the government of Kurssk, from which place it is 132 wersts distant. Bjelgorod, seated in a valley on the right of the Sseviernoi Donez, is not remarkable only for having been previously to 1779 the capital of an extensive government of the same name, but also for having passed since Bayer's time for Ssarkel or Bjelowjes, the metropolis of the Chasarians, which was taken by Swje-

toslaw in 965; till very lately that eminent scholar Mr. von Lehrberg of St. Petersburg proved that this ancient city and fortress was situated in a very different place, near the mouth of the Don. Unfortunately his admirable dissertation, which some years since was presented to the Academy of Sciences, is not yet printed. By means of it he has however corrected an important geographical and historical error, which might have an obvious influence on inquiries concerning the antiquities of the south of Russia.

Bjelgorod, or the *white city*, is one of the places founded by Wladimir the Great, and is said to have been built as early as the year 980. It received its name from the circumstance of its having originally stood upon a chalk-hill, whence it was removed into the valley in 1597. It is a considerable town, and contains about 4000 inhabitants, most of whom subsist by trade. I observed here a greater number of stone houses than in other provincial towns of Russia, and there are many even in the suburbs.

The further you proceed to the south in Russia in Europe, the more level the country in general becomes, and the roads improve in the same proportion, because the soil, which is actually cultivated *steppe*, is more compact. On the banks of the rivers alone you perceive hills and eminences, formed from the steep declivities of *steppes* when those rivers wrought out their channels. Proceeding along an excellent road, we reached, towards evening, the village of Lipzy, the first station in the government of Charkow, which is likewise called *Gubernie Sslobodskaja Ukrainskaja*, or the Government of the Ukraine villages.

It is chiefly composed of what were formerly termed the Slobodian Regiments, whose territory extended on the east to the Don, on the south to the sea of Asow and the Dnjeper, on the west to the river Worsklo, on the north to the sources of the rivers Psiol, Donez, and Oskol. It was bounded by ancient Russia; on the east by the Polowzians; on the south by the Chasarians and Petscheneges, and formed no inconsiderable part of the grand-principality of Kiew.

The towns and other ancient settlements in this quarter were often plundered in the incursions of the Polowzians and Petscheneges, but from their hills they prevented those marauders from extending their ravages to the interior of Russia. In the thirteenth century, however, this country suffered infinitely more severely from the invasion of the Mongols and Tartars from Great Tartary, under the conduct of Tuschi-chan a son of Dshingis-chan; and on the 16th of June 1223 the disastrous engagement of the Russians with the Mongols on the river Kalka or Kalmüs was the commencement of a tremendous and long continued devastation of the most

fertile part of Russia. The people having lost their princes, their generals, and their judges, abandoned their paternal abodes, and removed further westward, hoping by flight to save at least their wretched lives; and the victorious Mongols having destroyed the towns and laid waste the country, turned from the Dnjeper toward the east. There also they slaughtered a great number of the inhabitants; and after subduing the country on the Don and Donez, and penetrating to the Taurian Chersonesus, they returned home to the great Dshingis-chan.

In 1237 Batu-chan, grandson of Dshingis-chan, son of Tuschi-chan, and sovereign of Kipdschak, had subdued the Wojagarians, and laid waste with excessive slaughter the grand-principality of Wladimir, then the most considerable of the Russian principalities, with several others contiguous to it; on which in 1239 he turned his arms against the south of Russia, where his Tartars*, after destroying the principal towns, likewise made themselves masters on the 6th of December 1240 of Kiew the capital, which now became the residence of viceroys appointed by the Tartar chans† to govern the country and to collect the imposts.

Thus from 1240 the Russian princes reigned over the grand-principality of Kiew and the contiguous principalities partitioned off from it, under the supremacy and protection of the Tartars, during a period of thirty years, till Gedimin, grand-prince of Lithuania, first subdued Volhynia and the other southern and western principalities of the Kiew division, and, after the flight of Stanislaw prince of Kiew to Rjäsan, also made himself master of Kiew itself.

The terror of this conqueror's name preceded his armies, and soon reduced the north-eastern principalities of Kiew to subjection. Gedimin consigned the government of his extensive conquests to his cousin prince Mindow, and returned to Lithuania.

The then political constitution of Russia was the reason that prince Stanislaw could not exert all his force either to retain or to recover the principality of Kiew. He could not alone oppose so powerful an enemy with the insignificant aid of the Tartars, whose views were then directed to more extensive objects; Gregory grand-

* Batu-chan had very few Mongols in his army, and had become prince of the Kipdschak Tartars.

† The countries on the right bank of the river Wolga, conquered by the Tartars, were called Deschte-Kipdschak. The chans of Kipdschak styled themselves Tartar sultans, and resided in the city of Sarai or Saratschik on the river Achtuba, an arm of the Wolga, till the division of their extensive dominions. After the partition the three chans of Kasan, Astrachan, and the Krym, still retained this title.

prince of Wladimir, Nowogorod, and Moscow, and the inferior princes, were intent only on maintaining themselves upon their thrones, and did not venture to think of the preservation of other Russian provinces. Meanwhile Stanislaw died without children, and the other Russian princes in consequence conceived that they had lost all right and pretext to attempt the recovery of the country separated from Russia by the Lithuanians.

In this manner the whole grand-principality of Kiew was separated from the rest of Russia, and all unity among the descendants from one common stock destroyed. The eastern part of Kiew, the very district in which the Slobodian Regiments afterwards settled, continued for about four centuries an uninhabited desert, where the wild beasts and birds were the only creatures to which the incursions of the Tartars did not deny an abode. The Rossianes, the first inhabitants, had meanwhile proceeded westward; and after Gedimin had divided Lithuania as well as his Russian conquests among his seven sons, they continued under the dominion of the princes of Lithuania; but the principalities of Galicia and Wladimir devolved to the crown of Hungary.

In 1340 Casimir king of Poland, taking advantage of the dissensions which had then arisen in the south of Russia, hastened to enforce a formal hereditary claim to all this portion of the Russian territory. He first conquered Red Russia, and afterwards took the whole grand-principality of Kiew from the Lithuanians. The Russians, as well princes as people, finding themselves exhausted by civil discord and hard pressed by their neighbours, submitted on advantageous terms to Casimir, and acknowledged him as their actual sovereign. Upon this Casimir incorporated the Rusinians* into one state with the Poles, conferred equal privileges and immunities on both nations; so that the Russian nobles and other classes were not only permitted the free exercise of the Greek religion, but allowed an equal right with the national and naturalized Polish nobility to all offices and honours both civil and military, the royal dignity alone excepted, for which, by the fundamental laws of the kingdom, Catholics were exclusively eligible†. The Russians relying upon this compact accepted posts under the crown. On the death of Casimir the Great, the last of the male line of Piast, in 1370, he was succeeded in the throne of Poland by his nephew (the son of his sister Elizabeth) Lewis, king of Hungary, who chiefly resided in Poland, and under whom the Hungarians acted

* The Rossianians were thus denominated by the Poles.

† Casimir introduced into Poland the Magdeburg law, which is still in force in Little Russia.

pretty much as they pleased; but the king granted great privileges to the Polish nobility in order to secure the succession to his house.

On the death of king Lewis the Polish states conferred the crown on his daughter, the princess Hedwig, and married her to Jagellan grand-duke of Lithuania, who, with his subjects, embraced the Christian faith, and in 1387 ascended the throne of Poland. He immediately took measures for the union of the grand-duchy of Lithuania and likewise White Russia with the kingdom of Poland, and followed the example of Casimir the Great, in conferring equal rights upon the people of these countries.

Jagellan's son and heir Wladislaw III, who mounted the Polish throne in 1434 and that of Hungary also in 1443, renewed to those three nations in the kingdom of Poland the equality of rights and privileges, and confirmed it to them in the most solemn manner.

Sigismund Augustus, the last king of the race of Jagellan, strove to prevent all disputes which might arise between the united citizens in the kingdom of Poland. The convention (*Pacta conventa*) unanimously confirmed on the 16th of June 1563, in the diet held at Wilna, contained the following clause, exactly in these words: "Henceforward, not only the gentry and magnates with their descendants who adhere to the Romish church, and whose ancestors received patents of nobility, but in general all, be they who they will, knights and gentlemen, whether of Lithuanian or Russian descent, so they be but Christians, even though their forefathers were not ennobled in the kingdom of Poland, shall throughout its whole extent enjoy and for ever retain all the privileges, rights, and liberties, belonging to the nobles.... In like manner not only those who adhere to the church of Rome, but all others of the rank of knights shall be eligible to the senatorial and royal dignity, if they be but Christians.... no individual, so he be a Christian, shall be excluded."

This regulation was most solemnly confirmed in the diet held in 1568 at Grodnow, and to make this law the more explicit, the king added these words: "of whatever sect or religious professsion he may be."

At length, in the united diet held in 1569 at Lublin, this ordinance, which combined all the Poles of the Christian religion into one fraternity enjoying equal rights, was renewed and confirmed.

After the decease of Sigismund II without issue, all the Poles assembled at the diet held in 1573 for the election of a new sovereign, protested that they would not choose any man for king who would not swear to the inviolable observance of the above convention.

Henri de Valois, the first elective king of Poland, accordingly hesitated not to swear by Almighty God that he would maintain the rights of the Dissenters.

After him Stephen Batori, prince of Transylvania, in 1575 ascended the Polish throne under the same oath. This king removed the nation of the Rusinians to the Polish Ukraine, placed the infantry and cavalry to be furnished by them on a good footing, and gave them the town of Techtemirow on the Dnjeper, where they had their arsenal and where their commander resided.

The Rusinians rendered important service to the Polish state above three centuries, from 1340 to 1650, protecting it from the incursions of the Tartars, and guarding the Turkish frontiers. This accidental separation of southern from northern or Great Russia, produced such a change in the inhabitants of the former, that they would scarcely be supposed to proceed from the same stock. The same cause gave rise to the Little Russian Ukraine dialect, which is in like manner a distinct language of Slavonian origin.

The form of government has a great influence on the mode of life of conquered nations, and the transformation of a whole people. The changes of domestic economy, of sentiments, language, and character, or of the distinguishing trait in the manners of a nation, flow from this source. Upon this principle the alterations which have taken place in the south of Russia may easily be accounted for. During a period of eighty years it was subject to the Tartars, twenty to the Lithuanians, three hundred to the Poles, till 1650, and for some time to the Hungarians.

Under such a variety of masters the ancient Russian inhabitants could not but adulterate the language of their ancestors, adopt a foreign dress, and new-model their whole way of life: at the same time they retained some of their native properties, and hence arose that motley mixture which is still observable in the inhabitants of southern Russia*.

* The inhabitants of southern Russia, separated from one another by distance of habitation, difference of sovereignty, form of government, civil customs, language, and some also by religion, attract the serious attention of the observer who views them with a philosophic eye. When they assemble on religious occasions at Kiew, from the Don and the Wolga on the east, from Galicia and Lodomiria on the west, and from other less remote parts, they consider one another not as people speaking different languages, but as descendants from one common stock, who differ only in their mode of expression and customs, which cause them to appear foreign to one another: but upon the whole all these people, though so widely dispersed, still retain a child-like veneration for the metropolis of their ancient country, the city of Kiew.

All these changes of the Russians naturalized in Poland seemed to give them very little concern; but the peace and friendship of the three united nations in that kingdom was not of long continuance.

The arrogance of the Poles but too soon manifested itself; they could not consent that the excellent fundamental law, which had been subscribed by both parties, should in all its points be preserved sacred and inviolable. The first proof of this disposition was given by the Polish clergy, who threw various obstacles in the way of applications for posts of honour, and left no means untried to prevail upon the candidates to embrace the Catholic religion. A second object of their endeavours was, when persons of different religions married, to unite them to the Romish church; which in the sequel gave rise to various claims of precedence, and with them to numberless cavils. Seldom did an individual commit a crime which was not charged to the account of the whole nation. On such occasions the ordinance described above could not but suffer in one point, so that from time to time it grew weaker and weaker; and the superciliousness and disdain with which the Polish nobility treated the Rusinians increased to such a pitch, that a Pole could not meet a Rusinian without betraying his tyrannic arrogance, unless he had neither opportunity nor power to affront him. The Rusinians were not only subject for several years to various oppressions and injuries in respect to their property, but this hostility extended also to matters of religion, and liberty of conscience was very often rudely assailed.

The Polish grandees had acquired considerable possessions in the Ukraine; and as they were of opinion that by abridging the liberties of the Rusinians they should greatly increase their revenues, they advised king Wladislaw on the 4th of June 1637 to restrict their privileges. With the like view the fortress of Koidak was erected near the river Dnjeper by the Polish marshal Konespolski, in order to keep the Rusinians in due subjection. The states of the Russian nation perceiving that nothing was to be gained by patient endurance, had recourse to the tribunal of the kingdom, represented their unpleasant condition, and complained of the conduct of the Poles. On this occasion a certain Starschin of the Ukraine Cossacks, Lucas Gwosditsch, a nobleman of White Russia (commonly called Naliwaiko), publicly declared that if his injured countrymen did not receive full satisfaction for the injustice which had been done them, he was resolved, as a last resource, to endeavour to procure it for them by force of arms. The tribunal thus found itself necessitated to exert all its authority; it published severe proclamations for checking such disorders, and instituted a commission expressly for the purpose of inquiring into the

complaints; but Naliwaiko was meanwhile entrapped through the artifices of some Jews, secured by the Poles, carried to Warsaw, and after a tedious confinement in the tower, but before the breaking up of the commission, punished with death. By this unexpected event the spirit of the Rusinians was much broken; they might thence very easily infer that no good was likely to ensue from their undertakings, as indeed the event very soon showed. The Poles without waiting for the issue of the commission, which, as it was obvious, was purposely prolonged under various pretexts from year to year, again began to oppress the complainants, whom they stigmatized as insurgents and enemies of the state.

Pawluk, a commander of the Cossack troops, and some of the most distinguished of the Rusinians, had complained of grievances, but without any investigation were ignominiously put to death. It was moreover publicly decreed by the diet, that the Rusinians should be deprived of all their privileges, that the fortress of Techtemirow should be taken from them, and that a new corps of troops should be formed instead of theirs in the Ukraine. A Polish army was actually assembled to execute this determination, and blood had been spilt on both sides, when the Rusinians promised obedience to the kingdom of Poland on condition of being restored to their former liberties. They received an assurance on the part of Poland to this effect: but so far was it from being realized, that they were treated with still greater severity by the Poles; for, besides other oppressions, they took from them two Greek churches. Meanwhile the head of the Rusinian nation the Hetman Sborowski died, and all the states and the troops unanimously elected the noble Bogdan, or Theodore Chmelnizki, in his stead. No sooner had the latter obtained of king Wladislaw IV his confirmation in this dignity, than he deemed it his first duty to represent to his majesty all the oppressions which the Rusinians had suffered from the Poles; and as the latter had broken all the former stipulations and covenants, he solicited that they might be renewed and confirmed, and likewise that the Rusinian nation and their corps of troops might be taken under the special protection of the king.

The monarch, actuated by a love of justice, graciously received this memorial; but that very circumstance incensed the Polish senate and magnates against Chmelnizki: he was represented to the diet as a turbulent spirit and an incendiary. A neighbour of Chmelnizki's, a nobleman of inferior consequence, but filled with Polish pride, named Jarinski, began to offer gross affronts to his people; he then set up a fictitious claim, and by force dispossessed Chmelnizki of some of his lands. Chmelnizki paid exact obedience to the laws, and complained in due form to the tribunal;

but instead of a decision he was put off with cold excuses. The offender, emboldened by this treatment, attacked his house, which he plundered, burned his mills and all the other buildings, ravished the Hetman's wife, and then murdered both her and her sons. Just at the moment when Chmelnizki received information of this atrocious proceeding, he had with him a newly elected Atamann of the Cossacks and about twenty proprietors of estates, who had privately resorted to him, each bringing some particular complaint, and representing with irrefutable arguments, that the oppressions of the Polish nobles exceeded the power of endurance, and that they found themselves unable to submit to them any longer: yet for all these grievous injuries the Hetman could obtain no other satisfaction than derision. The hatred of the nation against the Poles was now more violently inflamed. The Cossacks headed by Chmelnizki did great mischief to the Polish nobles, by plundering and murdering them, and by destroying and burning their houses. Chmelnizki wrote to the king with the most profound submission, and recapitulated all the circumstances which compelled him to take up arms against the Polish nobility. "The republic," says he, "has, contrary to the law of nations, annihilated all the treaties and covenants formerly concluded between it and the Russian nation and its troops; in violation of all the laws of humanity, the Poles are intent only on the total ruin of old and faithful allies and fellow-citizens. To dissuade the Polish republic from such perverse conduct, to give back peace and perfect security to my countrymen, and to restore the ancient constitution, no other expedient is left me than the very last, that is war; for all the measures of gentleness and patience have been exhausted to no purpose. Nevertheless myself and the whole nation promise the utmost fidelity and implicit obedience in regard to the person of his majesty, in whose love of justice and protection we have placed our only hope."

When the senators solicited John Casimir II, who was elevated to the Prussian throne at the end of the year 1648, to commence hostilities against the Cossacks on account of this declaration, he replied: "You had no occasion to oppress the Cossacks, and to burn Chmelnizki's mills." After this answer, the magnates and nobility in general conceived a great distrust of the king; they nevertheless assembled of themselves an army of 50,000 men, which however was routed by the Cossacks. Ten thousand Poles were slain, and the Cossacks took Kiew.

A second time the nobles without permission called out every seventh man, and again marched against the Cossacks, but were again defeated.

Chmelnizki was celebrating at Kiew the marriage of his son with the daughter of John Woda prince of Wolozk, when the Poles unexpectedly attacked the city, which

they plundered, and carried off the Greek patriarch. Chmelnizki and the states of the Cossacks inquired of the king, whether this had been done with his consent. The king replied in the negative, and attributed all the blame to the nobles; on which Chmelnizki and the states in conjunction with the Tartars entered Poland in 1649, and laid waste a considerable part of that kingdom.

King Casimir put himself at the head of his army to oppose them, and actually repulsed them in two attacks on his camp on the 15th and 16th of August 1649. He was nevertheless obliged, at the conclusion of the peace on the 17th of August, to pacify the Tartars with presents, Chmelnizki with lands, and the Rusinian nation with the confirmation of its former privileges and the grant of new ones. As however the Polish nobility refused to accede to this treaty, the king again took the field against Chmelnizki, and on the 1st, 2d, and 3d of June gained a threefold victory, and thus compelled him to make overtures of peace.

The troubles in Poland afforded the Zar Aleksei Michailowitsch a good opportunity to unite his kindred by descent from the same stock, with their common parent country. About the year 1650, in consequence of this insurrection and the frequent bloodshed which ensued, the Rusinians in Volhynia, Podolia, and the Polish Ukraine, and in particular the inhabitants of Sembor, Korsun, and other ruined towns, began, with the consent of the Russian government, to remove with their families and all their property from the neighbourhood of the Dnjeper into the southern provinces of the Russian empire, where on their arrival they settled on the Bjelgorod line. This extensive colony soon received large accessions, and fortified itself against the attacks of the Krym and other Tartars by ditches and *abattis*. Thus these fugitives voluntarily returned to the desolated inheritance of their ancestors, founded a new civil and religious community in the Russian empire, and denominated themselves the Slobodian Regiments.

It has already been observed that this country continued for the greatest part desert, from the time of the Tartar invasion to its occupation by the Slobodian Regiments. Nevertheless, at an earlier period, that is under the Zar Iwan Wasiljewitsch, at the time of the rebuilding of Bjelgorod*, the towns of Tschuguiew and Woluki were founded, and Borisow was built by the Zar Boris Feodorowitsch Godunow near the mouth of the river Oskol, which disembogues itself into the Donez.

* Namely the second Bjelgorod, the Old-town on the left bank of the Donez. The first Bjelgorod was seated on a steep chalk hill on the right side of the river, but was ravaged by the Tartars in 1239, and burned in 1321 by the troops of Godimin, prince of Lithuania.

In the sequel the line of Bielgorod, as it is called, was here formed by the Zar Michael Feodorowitsch.

This ditch begins on the west from the boundary between Little Russia and the then Polish territory, and extends eastward to the river Don upwards of 300 wersts. On this line were erected the following towns and fortresses: 1. Wolnoe; 2. Chotmüschk; 3. Karpow; 4. Bjelgorod*; 5. Neshegolsk; 6. Korotscha; 7. Jablonow; 8. Nowoi (New) Oskol; 9. Werchososensk; 10. Userd; 11. Olschansk; and 12. Korotoiak on the Don. The strongest fortresses among these were the two middlemost, Bjelgorod on the Donez and Nowoi Oskol on the Oskol, in both which the Zar Michael resided during the construction of this line and the settling of the colony. The first eight of these towns belonged to the government of Bjelgorod, and the last four to that of Woronesch: but at present the first two and Neshegolsk are annexed to the government of Charkow; the five following to that of Kurssk; and the last four continue to be included as before in that of Woronesch. But as chief towns of circles Chotmüschk, Bjelgorod, Korotscha, Nowoi Oskol, and Korotoiak can alone be said to remain, all the others having been abandoned by the inhabitants. Of the lands appropriated to this line on its construction, some were allotted to the towns, and others charged with the payment of a tax to the gentry, *diaconi* (clerks), podiätsches (under-clerks), and the families of the bojars: other portions were granted as rewards for services rendered by meritorious persons; and what remained after this division, and was chiefly situated on the south side of the line, was assigned and confirmed by the Zar Aleksei Michailowitsch to the colony of the Slobodian Regiments.

Chmelnizki's successor, the Hetman Iwan Wügowski, exerted himself with such success to excite discontent in southern Russia, which had so recently submitted to the Russian sceptre, that all the country beyond the Dnjeper, after it had been but five years subject to the Russian authority, returned in 1660 upon advantageous terms to its allegiance to the crown of Poland; but notwithstanding his instigations the fidelity of the Slobodian Regiments remained unshaken. They likewise turned a deaf ear in 1664 to the persuasions of Iwan Bruchowezki and Peter Dorosko†, and gave no credit to their false publications; for which reason new privileges were granted in 1668 to these Regiments, letters of commendation were dis-

* The present or third Bjelgorod.

† Bruchowezki was elected Hetman beyond the Dnieper in the Ukraine soon after Wügowski, as was Dorosko or Doroschenko in Godetsch.

tributed among them; and as an indemnity for the damage which they had sustained at the time of the insurrection, the Zar commanded them to be exonerated from the taxes levied upon trades and public houses, so that in all the towns of the Regiments they might follow any trade or profession free from imposts of every kind.

On the first establishment of the colony these Regiments were under the immediate superintendence of the College of foreign affairs; they were afterwards dependent on the Chancery of Bjelgorod, under the government of Bjelgorod in civil and the College of war in military matters.

In 1732, by a special ordinance of the empress Anna Iwanowna, they were placed in regard to all their concerns under the jurisdiction of the Slobodian Commission established at Ssumü; at the same time a regular regiment of dragoons, to be armed, clothed and supported by the Slobodes, was raised at the rate of 200 men from each regiment of Cossacks.

In 1743 this regiment of dragoons was again disbanded by an ukase of the empress Elizabeth, and divided among the regiments of light-armed Cossacks, so that these were again raised to their old number of 5000 men; but in civil matters they were a second time rendered dependent on the government of Bjelgorod. In 1757, besides the above number of Cossacks, a Slobodian regiment of hussars was raised from among them by way of tax, provided with horses and equipped at their cost: and for the maintenance of this regiment a sum of money, divided according to districts, was previously contributed by the wealthy Cossack subjects.

The Slobodian Regiments were named after the four regimental towns of Charkow, Achtürka, Ostrogoshsk, and Isjum. In each regimental town was the supreme tribunal of the whole regiment; that is, the regimental chancery, in which cognisance was taken by the commanders and starschines of all matters whether civil or military that concerned the inhabitants belonging to that regiment. The colonel presided in this court, which was composed of the regimental starschines, the provosts, two Jessáuls, a regimental corporal, two regimental clerks, and regimental Chorunschi: of these the judge, one Jessául and two regimental clerks remained constantly at their post where the court sat, but the others were obliged to accompany the regiment whithersoever it went, in marches and in war.

In the hundred-towns the Ssotniks*, the hundred-clerks and their deputies

* *Ssotnik* properly signifies, like the Latin *centurio*, a leader of one hundred men, and the term is in like manner derived from the Russian *sto*, a hundred. Hence the signification of the other terms *hundred-town* and *hundred-clerk* may be inferred.

transacted the business of both kinds; and in their absence, for they also were obliged to take the field, judiciary Ssotniks acted in their stead.

In military matters all the five regiments were under the command of brigadiers.

All the above-mentioned Slobodian officers were generally of noble birth, or at least the sons of Starschines, and very rarely of the lower class: but in all cases extraordinary abilities and long service were indispensable.

In 1765, by a regulation of the empress Catherine, the Slobodo-Ukraine government was erected out of the Slobodian Regiments. Charkow was declared the capital; the regimental towns received the name of provincial towns; in each province a commission composed of six members was appointed for the superintendence of civil matters; the Cossack regiments were transformed into hussars and named after the provincial towns, and the old regiment of Slobodian hussars was divided among these new ones. All the imposts both in specie and in kind, till then levied for the equipment and maintenance of these regiments of hussars and Cossacks, were graciously remitted; and instead of them her imperial majesty introduced a capitation tax of 95 copecks for each male on the subjects of the crown who served in war and enjoyed the privilege of distilling brandy; 85 in those places which had not that right, and 60 for the reduced Crown-Tscherkessians, both resident in the Slobodes and in the governments of Bielgorod, Woronesch, Kasan, and Astrachan.

From among these reduced Tscherkessians a sixth regiment of hussars was raised in 1776 under the name of the "Slobodo-Ukraine regiment." In 1787 the Slobodo-Ukraine government was transformed into the government of Charkow, which was opened on the 29th of September in that year.

These hussars at first received no pay, except in time of war a specific sum for every horse that was killed, and forage in kind. They recruited themselves; whereas on the contrary no recruits were raised by the Cossacks. They were afterwards placed upon the same footing in these respects as the other troops, and on the abolition of all hussar uniforms were converted into light cavalry.

CHAPTER IV.

CHARKOW—ITS SITUATION—EXCESSIVE DIRTINESS OF THE TOWN—UNIVERSITY—CONDITION OF THE GERMAN PROFESSORS—THE UNIVERSITY NOT MUCH FREQUENTED—THAT CIRCUMSTANCE ACCOUNTED FOR—MR. VON STEVEN—ROBBERY OF THE AUTHOR—DEPARTURE FROM CHARKOW—ISJUM—BACHMUT—AKSSAI—SINGULAR COMBAT BETWEEN A DOG AND A VULTURE.

Charkow, where we arrived towards evening on the 8th of October, is seated in an extensive plain, partly on an eminence between the rivers Charkowa and Lopan. It would be one of the best and most agreeable of the middle-sized towns of Russia were it not almost as filthy as Orel, and the mud frequently so deep as to prevent the pedestrian from going abroad, while droschkes drawn by two strong horses stick fast in many places. Nay it is my opinion that it would not be possible here, as it is at Bourdeaux, to walk through the dirt upon stilts. Fortunately for us, the weather during the first part of our stay was serene and dry, and then the mud in the streets, like the sand in Brandenburg, becomes compact, so that you may traverse it without sinking. I was therefore enabled to pay my first visits on foot, but was not always so lucky as to pick my way without accident. As it is difficult at Charkow to procure a hired droschke at a short notice, I contrived another method of conquering the dirt. Very wide fur-boots, which as the cold increased and the weather became more inclement might well be borne, were provided at the top with straps and buckles, and thus fastened above the knee when we went abroad. This invention stood the test; for thus equipped we could go almost any where, and at the place of our destination could with little trouble throw off these leg-covers at the foot of the stairs; and I recollect only one single occasion, when the top-boot stuck so fast in the mud that the strap at the knee broke and the whole was left behind. At present this inconvenience is said to be less felt; for the principal streets have been covered with fascines, so that carriages at least may now proceed without obstruction.

Charkow has become better known abroad in consequence of the university founded there by the present emperor; but this measure does not seem to have rendered the place more flourishing: for, excepting some public buildings which have been repaired for the use of the university, no change of consequence has taken

place here, and the number of inhabitants, amounting to 6000, has not increased in any considerable degree.

Among the professors of Charkow I found some Germans well known by their works, but who seemed to me not to be exactly in their element here. This observation applies to most of the Germans, who when no longer young emigrate to Russia and enter into the service of the crown, if they are not appointed to situations in Petersburg and Moskwa. It is however in some measure their own fault. Many of them, for instance, neglect to learn the Russian language, under the idea that they have no occasion for it, and expect the natives to converse with them in a foreign idiom. This is unreasonable; for, when a man resides in a country and receives a salary from the government of that country, he ought certainly to take the trouble to learn its language.—Again, the Germans would have every thing to proceed in Russia just as it does in their own country, and most of them insist on this point with such obstinacy as to excite the hatred of the Russians. They also in general think themselves wiser and better than their new countrymen, and in betraying these sentiments to the latter they prove that they are neither the one nor the other. This conduct occasions circumstances extremely unpleasant to themselves; but in the Russians, who are accustomed to take things more easily, it creates contempt and aversion for these strangers. I have often wondered in silence at the blindness of self-conceited foreigners, who fancied themselves esteemed by all, and perceived not that wherever they appeared they were the objects of universal derision.—In my opinion, therefore, only such young Germans should go to Russia, as are yet capable of adapting themselves to the way of thinking and acting in that country.

The building appropriated to the university is spacious, and according to report is about to be still further enlarged; but the number of the students would be very small had it not been augmented by a recent ordinance of the emperor, according to which no person shall be appointed to any civil employment unless he has studied at some Russian university, nor any individual without a previous examination in the sciences be promoted to a staff officer, or from a collegiate counsellor to a counsellor of state.

The idea of founding an university at Charkow was not of itself a bad one, because many opulent gentry whose sons might have benefited by it resided in that vicinity. But in Russia there is yet too little taste for learning, and the old French mode of education is still too fashionable; on which account people of rank and fortune very seldom avail themselves of the advantages offered by universities

and other seminaries. It was likewise an exceedingly injudicious step to attempt to introduce knowledge into Russia by means of foreigners, and to raise a fabric which requires the labour of ages, as expeditiously as a triumphal arch may be patched up. The only method of effectually promoting the diffusion of science in Russia would have been to have sent young Russians who had distinguished themselves in the ordinary schools to some good seminary in Germany, and thence to an university where they might have prepared themselves for their destined career. Such persons as these, at their return, would certainly have furnished the best teachers for the institutions for the promotion of learning.

At present, on the contrary, the whole course of instruction from the normal schools upwards is radically faulty, because the encyclopedian method of teaching so prevalent in Germany has been introduced; by which method the pupil learns a little of every thing but nothing thoroughly, and at most acquires an historical notion of each science, which in the end proves of no further use to him, and which he very soon forgets. As long as the sciences have been cultivated in Russia, the mathematical have been considered as best adapted to the diffusion of knowledge in the country; but it was long since justly remarked by Schlözer, that no nation in the world was ever yet rescued from barbarism by the mathematics. Nature changes not her course; and it is by the arts and sciences, by the belles lettres and poetry, that the Greeks and Romans, the Italians, French, English, and Germans attained to so high a degree of civilization.

Another almost insurmountable obstacle which will long prevent Russia from making any progress in the sciences, lies in the political constitution. As there is no middle class in this country, the whole nation is divided into two parts, masters and slaves; and at present in another way, into persons who are in the service of the state and such as are not. To the latter belong the vassals and tradesmen, who have neither inclination nor opportunity to cultivate their minds. The others are much too anxious to obtain honours and titles, which the service alone confers, to devote much time to the sciences. Every one strives at as early an age as possible to procure an appointment under the crown, for which he needs nothing but a good recommendation, and an acquaintance with the Russian style of business and the laws of the country. He has no encouragement to study the sciences, of which he knows nothing and for which he thinks that he has no occasion. Till, then, a middle class of citizens shall arise in Russia no real diffusion of knowledge can be reasonably expected.

Among the many agreeable acquaintances that I made at Charkow must be

reckoned the aulic counsellor Mr. von Steven, who has several times visited Georgia and the Caucasian mountains, from whom I received much information and many hints respecting my intended journey: for these, as well as several letters of recommendation which he gave me, and which proved of great service, I here publicly return my acknowledgements. Here also I met with Marshal von Biberstein: but unluckily his stay was so short that I could not enjoy much of his company, which would certainly have been very advantageous to me, as he is intimately acquainted with the Caucasus and Daghestan.

Unfortunately for me, I was detained a considerable time at Charkow by various circumstances; for one evening when I had been invited by the civil governor to tea, and by Mr. von Stoikowitz, who was then rector of the university, to supper, some thieves, getting in at the window of my apartment from the court-yard, robbed me not only of my linen and clothes, but also of a large sum of money which was locked up in the same room. This happened about ten in the evening, while Bobrinzow the student and the police soldier assigned me by the burgomaster as a guard were in the house. The affair made a considerable noise in the town; and in a wood near Charkow was found one of my uniforms, which was returned to me quite torn in pieces: but none of the thieves has yet been brought to punishment; a circumstance that reflects the highest honour on the police of the town, by which the sentry had been appointed to attend me! I have since heard that one of the robbers was actually taken, but that he either soon escaped or was set at liberty.

Having in some measure replaced the necessaries which I had lost, I left Charkow on the 30th of October; but before we reached the gate our carriage stuck so fast in the mud that it could not be drawn out of this slough of the Muses without some additional horses. By a pleasant and level road we soon reached the circular town of Isjum, one hundred and eleven wersts from Charkow, founded in 1687 by a colonel named Donez, on both sides of the river Ssewernoi Donez, and the rivulet Mokraja Isjumza. It was formerly the principal defence against the incursions of the Tartars into this government, and has still an earth-work on a hill, but which is now very ruinous. In the town are three churches built of wood, and one of stone erected by command of Peter the Great. The number of the inhabitants amounts to 5000, so that this place must be deemed tolerably lively. Isjum is better and more regularly built than the other towns of the governments of Charkow, and was once the most populous of them all. One cause of the decrease of its inhabitants was the plague introduced by the Tartars; but other circumstances have likewise occasioned frequent emigrations. From this place there was formerly

a convenient passage down the Donez to the sea of Asow; and during the war with the Porte, from 1736 to 1739, troops, provisions, and other necessaries, were conveyed in *beidars* from Isjum to the mouth of the Don; for above that town vessels found a good depth of water from the village of Smiewan, which is only forty-four wersts from Charkow, and indeed it was navigable as high as Bielgorod: but now the mill-dams, constructed above and below Isjum on the Donez, have raised and filled up the bed of the river and covered its banks with water, so that it is no longer passable for vessels.

Isjum (in the Russian and Tartar *Raisins*) has for its arms three vines with bunches of grapes hanging from them in a field or, in allusion to the name of the town, and to denote that its district is favourable to the growth of that fruit. The principal support of the inhabitants, and of the peasants who rove about in its neighbourhood, is agriculture and the breeding of cattle, namely, horses, oxen, and particularly sheep, for which this town and its circle are remarkable, since even Silesian sheep are kept there. The place has likewise a considerable traffic in Greek and Turkish commodities, and in the great market-house are several shops belonging to resident Greek tradesmen.

As it was yet early in the day we pursued our journey, and, having proceeded sixty-five wersts further, passed the night at Bachmut on the river of the same name. This town was anciently a fortress of some importance against the Tartars; but of its works nothing is left except a spacious quadrangular area surrounded by a high rampart of earth. The place however is thriving and populous, and carries on a considerable trade with the adjacent country. Between the ancient fortifications and the left bank of the river Bachmut are the two salt-springs of Kirikowskoi and Chailowskoi, from the water of which is boiled a great quantity of salt that is exported to other governments. The name Bachmut is probably a corruption of Mahhmud, or perhaps even of Mohhammed, as the Russians and Tartars frequently change *M* into *B*: thus, the latter frequently say *Busurman* for *Moslemin*, &c. This town belongs to the government of Jekaterinoslaw, and is now the capital of a circle; it is situated in a pleasant and fertile country, in a plain that gently slopes to the banks of the river.

On the last day of October I left Bachmut, and our route led us past Luganskoi Sawod, one of the most celebrated iron-foundries in all Russia, on the river Lugan, which unites with the Bielaja and falls into the Ssewernoi Donez. As I was obliged to hasten to reach the Caucasus as speedily as possible, we proceeded, without stopping long by the way, directly for Tscherkassk after we had quitted the govern-

ment of Jekaterinoslaw, beyond Iwanoka a cheerful village belonging to Mr. von Storitsch, and entered the territory of the Don Cossacks. The road led over an extensive plain, partly by detached post-stations, but at last through large villages to Akssai, a considerable Cossack *stanitza*, only fifteen wersts from Old Tscherkassk. It is seated on the north side of a branch of the Don, which is likewise called Akssai, and is built chiefly of free-stone in the form of an amphitheatre on the high bank of the river. Thirty wersts below the conflux of the Ssewernoi Donez with the Don, the Akssai branch separates from the right side of that river, runs first northward and then westward, and at length unites with it again ten wersts below Tscherkassk and as many above the fortress of St. Dimitri Rostowski. We crossed the Akssai close to the *stanitza* by a floating bridge; for no other can be thrown over this river, which generally swells in spring and inundates the plain nearly as far as Tscherkassk, over which at such times a long bridge conducts the traveller. Here we witnessed an extraordinary spectacle; it was a battle between a vulture and my great Chinese hound, which I had brought with me from Siberia. This spirited animal used to keep constantly on the look-out for game and birds by the way, and just when our carriages stopped here he was beating about the whole country. He spied something in a small pit, crept towards it, and immediately sprung in. I hastened to the spot, and found him engaged in a desperate battle with a vulture, whose wing he had probably dislocated or broken at the first onset. The issue of this contest might perhaps have been unfortunate for him, as his antagonist used all the means in his power to peck out his eyes, had not a blow from my stick soon extended the vulture on the ground, and thus terminated this singular conflict between the quadruped and the bird.

CHAPTER V.

TSCHERKASSK—SITUATION AND DESCRIPTION OF THE TOWN—INHABITANTS—INUNDATIONS AND THEIR CONSEQUENCES—HISTORY OF THE PLACE AND ITS INHABITANTS—TSCHERKESSIANS—COSSACKS OF LITTLE RUSSIA—TARTAR COSSACKS—ASOW COSSACKS—DON COSSACKS—PRESENT STATE OF THE COSSACKS—FERTILITY OF THEIR COUNTRY—CULTIVATION OF THE VINE—THE FAIR SEX AT TSCHERKASSK—PRINCIPAL CHURCH OF THE CITY—GOLD AND SILVER COIN—THE GYMNASIUM—DRUNKENNESS OF THE INHABITANTS—NACHTSCHIWAN, AN ARMENIAN TOWN—ITS BEAUTY—SHOPS—GOLOWA—RETURN TO TSCHERKASSK—THE CALMUCKS.

TSCHERKASSK, the capital of the Don Cossacks, is seated on the right shore of the Don, upon an island formed by the Akssai branch. We arrived at this place towards evening of the 1st of November, and took up our quarters in a roomy wooden house, the owner of which behaved with great civility. Since our departure from St. Petersburg we had travelled 1947 wersts or 297 German miles. Tscherkassk differs from all other towns in the mode of building; for, on account of the annual inundations, which commonly last from April to June, most of the houses of the town are erected upon high poles, so that when the inundation is over there is a space under each where cattle are frequently kept. In most of the streets are lofty wooden bridges which run along the middle of them, and to which a smaller bridge leads from the door of each house. Where this is not the case the inhabitants are obliged, during the time of the inundation, to step immediately out of their houses into a boat, when going about their ordinary business. Hence it is evident that this town is by no means adapted to riding either in a carriage or on horseback.

On the Don itself, where the ground is rather higher and where nothing is to be feared from the water, are situated the Gymnasium, some other buildings belonging to the government, and the principal church. The shops are very spacious and well arranged, and furnished with all sorts of domestic commodities, as also with most of the foreign productions that are subservient to the convenience of life. In consequence of the proximity of Taganrog and the Krym the place is in particular abundantly supplied with articles of Greek and Turkish merchandize, which are

sold at very moderate prices. I remarked many shops with iron and brass wares, woollen cloth of home and foreign manufacture, tea, sugar, coffee, wines and other strong liquors.

To a stranger visiting Tscherkassk for the first time, it is a striking spectacle to find a city peopled by Cossacks alone, and where all the male inhabitants wear the same costume, which consists of a blue Cossack coat turned up with red. Even great part of the foreigners resident here adopt this dress, which looks very neat. Besides the Cossacks properly so called, the Tartars, who are upon the same footing as the Cossacks, occupy a whole suburb, and have likewise a well-fitted-up wooden mesdshet.

The inundations, which leave behind in the streets a great quantity of mud, and in many places large standing pools, whence issue pernicious exhalations, render the situation of the town extremely unhealthy; for which reason New Tscherkassk has been begun on a branch of the Don, a German mile from the present town, and is said to be at this time ready for the reception of inhabitants. Those of the old town, who will be in some measure indemnified for the expense thus occasioned, are all to remove to New Tscherkassk; so that in half a century, perhaps, no vestiges of the present place will remain.

Tscherkassk was founded in 1570 by the Cossacks, the year after the Turks had undertaken their fruitless expedition from Asow against Astrachan, and the former town had been almost entirely destroyed by the explosion of a powder-magazine set on fire by lightning. The origin of the Cossacks themselves is an historical problem which has hitherto been by no means satisfactorily solved. This name first occurs in Constantine Porphyrogenneta (about A. D. 948), who places the province of Kasachia among the countries lying beyond the Ckuban, as appears from the following passage:—"On the eastern side of the Palus Mœotis several rivers empty themselves into it, as the Tanais, which comes from Ssarkel; the Chorakul, in which the Oxian fishes (το Βερζητικον) are taken; likewise some other rivers, as the Bal, Burlik, Chadir, and many more. But the mouth of the Palus Mœotis is also called Burlik, and goes into the Pontus. Here is the Bosphorus, on which stands the town named Tamatarcha. The above-mentioned mouth is eighteen miles broad. In the middle of these eighteen miles lies a large flat island called Atech. The river Ukruch*, which separates Sichia (Ζηχια) from Tamatarcha, is eighteen or twenty miles from the latter. Sichia extends about 300 miles from the Ukruch to the river Nikopsis,

* Probably the Ckuban, where it discharges itself into the Liman.

on which also is situated a town of the same name. Beyond Sichia lies the country of Papagia, beyond Papagia *Kasachia*, beyond Kasachia Mount Caucasus, and beyond the Caucasus the country of the Alans."—The inhabitants of Kasachia were consequently neighbours of the Sichs or Eastern Tscherkessians, and themselves Tscherkessians; for this nation is still called by its neighbours, the Ossetes, Kasach or Kessek. Ibn el Vardi, an Arabian geographer, who lived and wrote about 1230, mentions a people called Keschek in the Caucasus, and cannot sufficiently extol the beauty of their women, on which subject he breaks forth into the warmest praises of the Almighty*. This exactly applies to the Tscherkessian women, who are still accounted the most beautiful in all Asia. Massudi, another Arabian, who wrote near two centuries earlier, about A. D. 947, says that many Mohhammedan merchants came every year to Trebisonde, on the sea of Constantinople, from Rum (Anatolia), Armenia, and the land of Kaschek†; but it is a question whether the Tscherkessians are here meant, as he has not more precisely described the situation of their country. It might be that at this early period they carried their slaves thither to market, as they lately did to Anapa, Dsugodshuk-Ckala, and other ports of the Black Sea. Be this as it may, so much at least is certain, that the Tscherkessians first bore the name of Kasach, and it is very probable that from them it may have been transferred to other neighbouring nations who led the same kind of life as they. Some writers indeed have asserted that *Chasack* in the Turco-Tartar dialects signifies a *robber*, but this is erroneous; a sledge indeed is called *Chasack*, but it will scarcely be contended that the name can be thence derived. It is likewise remarkable that in later times the Russian Cossacks were termed Tscherkessians, and that both appellations were indiscriminately employed.

Of all the different Cossacks those of Little Russia are the most ancient; for their origin dates from 1340, after the Poles had reduced Red Russia under their dominion. It is probable that, on this event, many Russians emigrated from that country in order to seek an asylum lower down the Dnjeper, where they intermingled with the Tartars and Tscherkessians; for in general the Cossacks are of a much more slender make than the other Russians, and their features upon the whole more handsome and expressive. The invasions of Russia by the Tartars, and in particular the destrucion of Kiew in 1415, increased the number of these refugees, who now extended to the Bug and the Dniester. Those who resided beyond

* *Opus Cosmographicum Ibn el Vardi, Arab. et Lat. ed. Andr. Hylander.* Lundæ, 1799, p. 144.

† *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits du Roi.* Vol. I. p. 16.

the cataracts of the Dnjeper now received the name of Saporogians, and these were the most powerful tribe. Thus, though the Little Russian Cossacks had long existed, it was not till late that they were distinguished by this appellation. During the reign of the grand-prince Iwan Wassiljewitsch I. the Tartar Cossacks first make their appearance: they were afterwards divided into those of Ordinsk and Asow. There were likewise Cossacks who were in the immediate service of certain Tartar princes; and it is possible enough that they may have been originally body-guards of Tscherkessians. Thus Wassili Iwanowitsch, son of the prince just mentioned, had in his service Cossacks, whom he often employed in missions to the Krym. The Ordinsk Cossacks had their name from being dependent on the Great Orda, the chief settlement of the Tartars on the Wolga, as were the Asow Cossacks on Asow, consequently on the Turks, who in 1471 made themselves masters of that town.

In 1500 Agus Tscherkass and Karabai were the chiefs of the Asow Cossacks, who inhabited the country between Asow and the Russian frontiers; and these seem to have intermingled most with their neighbours the Tscherkessians; for from that time the terms Tscherkessian and Cossack became synonymous. It is not surprising that they should retain their language and religion, for the Russians seem still to constitute the greater part of the nation. In later times we have a striking instance of a similar intermixture; for about sixty years ago the Grebensk Cossacks on the Terek had so blended themselves with the Tschetschenzes and other mountaineers as scarcely to be distinguished from them; but they still retained the Russian language, although they had taken foreign wives.

The origin of the state of the Don Cossacks dates not much earlier than 1570, for many refugees had some time before settled on the Don and its branches; but it was not till after the building of Tscherkassk that their political constitution was settled. The Zar Iwan Wassiljewitsch, on occasion of the expedition of the Turks against Astrachan in 1569, is said to have ordered out against them 5000 Saporogians from among the Tscherkessians (Cossacks) residing on the Dnjeper, under the conduct of Prince Michael Wyschnewetzkii, who, in conjunction with those established on the Don, gained a complete victory over the Turks. It is related that the greater part of these 5000 men remained near the Don, and in concert with the Cossacks there founded the city of Tscherkassk; where, after the manner of the Saporogians, they lived a long time without wives. Their losses were supplied by stragglers and unmarried men from the first colonies of the Don Cossacks. The troubles which soon afterwards broke out in Russia contributed to augment

their numbers; they extended their possessions to the Donez, the Medwediza, the Choper and the Busuluk, and made the town of Tscherkassk their capital.

These Cossacks soon became dangerous to their neighbours, so that it was found necessary to flatter them and to gain them by presents, to prevent them from committing depredations and driving away the flocks in time of peace, and in war to secure the aid of such brave and serviceable troops. At present all the Cossacks pay implicit obedience to the crown, and are as faithful subjects as any in the empire. Content with little, they patiently endure every kind of hardship; but they are the first in war wherever there is an opportunity for plunder. Their country is not, strictly speaking, a Russian province, but has its peculiar government and constitution, and is under an *Ataman* or commander in chief, who on all occasions that arise communicates directly with St. Petersburg. This has inspired them with a manly love of freedom which unfortunately is not to be found in the other Russians; but nevertheless perfect submission to the orders of their superiors prevails among them.

The fertility of the country, and their whole establishment, render them but little disposed to pursue agriculture with assiduity, and they grow only just so much corn as they require for their own consumption. On the other hand, the vine is largely cultivated along the whole of the Don, and they make several truly excellent sorts of wine, which when not adulterated are equal to the light French wines. Here is likewise produced a kind of champagne, which, under the name of Symlianskii, is sent all over Russia; but it is commonly debased with potash, and produces head-ache and disorders of the stomach. I here drank a light sort of red wine, which nearly resembles the Petit Bourgogne, and was of excellent flavour. Of this I took with me at my departure a half-anker; but it froze at a temperature of no lower than five degrees, so that I could use it no other way than mulled.

The women of Tscherkassk may upon the whole be pronounced handsome, and appear very showy, especially on holidays, with their half oriental costume. The use of paint is common at this place, as it is all over Russia; but here I think I observed this disguise on the faces of middle-aged females only. The young women and girls have a fresh complexion, and seem to employ few artificial means of improving their natural beauty.

The principal church is one of the most remarkable objects in the town, not only on account of its architecture, but for the prodigious quantity of gold, silver, and jewels, especially pearls, which it contains. All these treasures formed part of the booty which the Cossacks have made in different wars, and particularly

in Poland. Besides a multitude of images of saints wrought in gold, or overlaid with that metal, which are adorned with the largest and most costly stones, you here see an altar-piece of considerable height and breadth, studded all over with pearls, many of which are of the largest size and finest quality. There is likewise more gold and silver coin among the Cossacks than any where else in Russia. Many of the widows of people of distinction have whole pots full of ducats lying in their houses, which pass from father to son undiminished, and commonly without ever being counted.

Since the foundation of the university of Charkow, the Gymnasium at Tscherkassk has been placed on a better footing; and I must own that I scarcely expected to find so good a seminary among the Cossacks. During my stay there was a public examination, which was highly creditable to the institution; and truth obliges me to declare that it may vie with any other in Russia. The Cossacks are quick of apprehension; they have shrewd understandings, and are not deficient in Asiatic acuteness. This circumstance of itself evinces that they are not of pure Russian descent. They are much addicted to intoxication, but are ashamed to suffer its consequences to be publicly seen, which is not the case in the rest of Russia; for there, when a man of quality reels along the streets after a debauch, no one takes the least notice of it, neither does it cast the slightest imputation on his character. The people of Tscherkassk choose rather to drink to excess at home, and the fair sex make no scruple to partake in these Bacchanalian orgies.

The little town of Nachtschiwan, built since the year 1780 by the Armenians who have emigrated from the Krym, is only 28 wersts from Tscherkassk. The road thither crosses the Akssai, and then leads on the right side of the Don past dangerous ravines, in which run small streams that are dry in summer. I cannot describe what an agreeable impression was made upon me by this perfectly regular and handsome place, and the great order which prevails there; it were to be wished that many such Armenian towns might be founded in other parts of the Russian empire. Nachtschiwan signifies *new settlement*, and has been thus named after a town of Armenia, where, says tradition, Noah, on descending from Mount Ararat, first built himself a habitation. The shops here are particularly worthy of notice; they form a long row, and are stocked with all kinds of commodities. In front of them runs a broad and completely covered passage, which is lighted from above by windows, and has, on account of its height and elegance, an imposing appearance. According to the Asiatic custom, the mechanics work in their shops, and all the persons of the same trade live near one another; so that you here see

a row of goldsmiths, there another of bakers, tailors, &c. Nachtschiwan is moreover a very populous and lively place.

My host, who was then chief magistrate (*Golowa*), took a pleasure in conducting me about every where, and showed me in the town-house the license for building the town confirmed by the empress Catherine II., which, written in the Armenian language and in large characters, adorns the court of justice. Colonel Awramow, an Armenian by birth, has rendered great services to the town, and was one of the original founders. At his house I met with two Armenian archimandrites, who were on the way to the celebrated convent of Etschmiadsin, near Eriwan. At night we had a truly cheerful ball, at which however but few Armenian females were present, because they live very retired, and seldom show themselves to strangers.

I returned the following day from Nachtschiwan to Tscherkassk, where I staid but a few hours, and immediately made an excursion among the Calmucks settled on the opposite shore of the Don. These, like the Don Cossacks, to whom they are accounted to belong, are divided into regiments of 500 men, each of which is under a colonel and major (Jessaul). Only one company of these Calmucks, under a Ssotnik, was encamped here in their ordinary felt-tents or *jurtes*, and they appeared to be in indigent circumstances. These Calmuck Cossacks have by right their pasturage between the Don, the river Ssal, and the great Manytsch, and are totally distinct from the Wolga Cossacks in the government of Astrachan.

CHAPTER VI.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE CALMUCKS AND MONGOLS—THE WHOLE MONGOL NATION FORMERLY RESIDED IN THE EASTERN PART OF SIBERIA ON THE LAKE BAIKAL—BRED GREAT NUMBERS OF HORSES—THE NATIVE COUNTRY OF DSHINGIS-CHAN—ORIGIN OF THE SIBERIAN MONGOLS—PHYSIOGNOMY—COMPLEXION—FELT-TENTS—SIGNIFICATION OF THE NAME OF CALMUCK.

As the way of life and manners of the Calmucks are already sufficiently known, I deem it superfluous to say any more on the subject: I shall therefore introduce some general observations respecting these people, and a description of the customs practised in the religion of the Lama by the Mongol tribes, which is derived from an authentic source.

The Calmucks are a branch of the Mongol nation, which even in modern times has almost always, and even by several persons eminent for their historical researches, been confounded with the Tartar, though totally different from the latter in features and language. The ancestors both of the Mongols and the Calmucks now resident in Europe dwelt, so lately as the beginning of the 11th century of our æra, to the north and on the borders of the lake of Baikal in eastern Siberia, where they roved about with their herds of horses. The horse seems to have been the only domestic animal which they possessed, and they were strangers to the use of the metals with the exception of copper; for the words which in their language denote these objects, as well as the names of other necessaries of life, are all of Tartar origin; whence it is very probable that they derived their knowledge of those things themselves from the Tartars who inhabited the countries to the south of them, and who were rather more civilized than they. At that time the whole region between China and Siberia, from the upper Amur and the branches of that river to the Caspian Sea, was inhabited by nations speaking the Tartar language.

In 1135 the Chinese history makes the first mention of the Mongols southward of the Baikal under the denomination of *Munn'u* or *Munn'koss*. They were inured to hardship, cruel and good warriors, could see at night though ever so dark, and wore armour made of the skin of the fish *giao**, which was proof against

* *Giao* is the Chinese name of a fish likewise called *Scha-yü* or Sand-fish. In the Mandshu it is called *Dulan nimacha*, and in Mongol *Tolän dsichassu*. The Mandshu-Mongol vocabulary gives the

arrows discharged at them. From the history of Dshingis-chan we find that they called their then country Gurban-gol, that is, *the three rivers*, because it was situated between the Kerulun, Onon, and Tula. Deshauterayes conceives that this can be no other than the tract lying between the Seunn'gari, Nonni, and Amur, and supports his conjecture with the circumstance that the country of the Mongols produces the dear medicinal root Shin-schenn*; but this is founded on a false translation of Father Mailla, who has mistaken the Mandshu words *Orcho-i-da*, *roots of plants*, for the nearly similar term *Orcho-da*, which signifies *Shin-schenn.*

From the most ancient times the Mongols seem to have been divided into two principal nations, which Dshingis-chan reunited, and thus laid the foundation of the formidable power of the Mongols, who overran all Asia and struck terror into Europe. But immediately after the partition of the monarchy erected by him, they were again separated by old dissensions, and have since frequently made war upon one another to their mutual destruction. The Mongols proper, who border on China and are subject to that empire, form one of these nations, and the Uirät the other.

The Mongols proper are divided into several tribes; and to them belong also the Chalcas, the tribe which gave birth to Dshingis-chan. The Uirät, on the other hand, are composed of four grand subdivisions, the Oelöt or Eleuthes (Calmucks), Choit, Tümmüt, and Barga-Burat or Burättes. The latter inhabited Siberia, and are the most widely-extended Mongol tribe in that country. The other Mongol tribes, which like those just mentioned are subject to Russia, pay a moderate tribute to the crown, and also serve without pay as Cossacks on the Chinese frontiers. Some still have their petty hereditary princes or *Taischa*; but there are cases when, on the failure of their issue, other opulent families are raised to that

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following description of it: "It has no scales and a small mouth; the body resembles the open hand, is flat, and a span long. Its skin is very rough, and is used for polishing large arrows."—The Chinese dictionary of the emperor Kann-chi quotes the words of the ancient writer Sziün-dsü, who composed a work on the art of war, in which he says: "the people of Zü made armour out of the skin of the fish Giao and the horns of rhinoceroses."—In the Chinese-Mandshu dictionary, *Mandshu isuhuchu bitche*, which appeared in 1749 at Peking, and was translated into French by Father Amiot, which translation M. L. Langlès published at Paris in 1789-90, there is under the article *Dulen nimacha* the following explanation:—*Nom d'un poisson de mer qui n'a point de cailles, qui a la bouche petite, le corps comme la paume de la main: il est plat, et de la longueur d'un palme; sa peau est épaisse; on s'en sert pour gratter. C'est une espèce de chagrin.*

* Commonly but improperly written *Gin-seng.*

rank. Most of them have for their chiefs *Ssaissans*, whose appointment as well as the confirmation of the high ecclesiastical dignitaries depends entirely on the Russian commanders in chief. Next to these come the *Schülunga*, who are below the Ssaissans in rank, and who have under them inferior officers denominated *Sassul*. These persons indeed administer justice among their tribes; but their authority is limited, inasmuch as every individual who possesses the means may appeal to the Russian magistrates. Many of these officers pay the tribute for the whole tribe in specie out of their own pockets, and in the hunting season collect with usury the quota of each person under their jurisdiction.

No people of Asia are so strikingly distinguished by their physiognomy and the figure of the skull as the Mongols. They exhibit almost as wide a deviation from the ordinary conformation of man, as the negroes in Africa; and it is truly remarkable that this cast of countenance is almost indelible even by long intermixture with other nations; and that where this singularity once prevails it can scarcely ever be eradicated. A Mongol might marry an European woman in the midst of Europe, and his latest descendants would nevertheless retain the features of Mongols, as abundance of examples in Russia attest. The characteristics of this physiognomy are the corners of the eyes next to the nose running back rather obliquely, and completely filled up; small eye-brows, black, and but little arched; a remarkably broad but at the same time small and flat nose; prominent cheek-bones; round face and head. The ears are large, and stand out from the head; the lips broad and thick; and the chin short. A beard composed of detached strong hairs, which soon grow gray, and entirely fall off in advanced age, is likewise a peculiarity of this nation.

The Mongols are for the rest of middle size; the women may be pronounced small, but yet they are delicately shaped. There are scarcely any cripples among them; but crooked legs and thighs are a very common personal defect, which arises from the circumstance that infants already in their cradle are constantly placed astride on a kind of spoon, and, as soon as they can go alone, are obliged to travel on horseback upon every removal to a fresh pasturage. The skin and complexion of the Mongols is by nature tolerably fair; at least this is the case with all young children: but the custom of the common people, whose children of the male sex run about stark naked in the sun and in the smoke of their tents, and among whom likewise the men generally sleep in summer with no other covering than their under garment, occasions their ordinary colour to be a sallow brown. The women on the contrary are very white under their clothes, and among people of quality you meet with faces of a delicately fair complexion, still further heightened

by the blackness of the hair; and which in these respects, as well as in the features themselves, bear a strong resemblance to the figures in Chinese paintings.

All the Mongols lead a roving life, and dwell in moveable felt-tents, commonly called *Jurts* or *Kibitkas* (in Mongol *Gär*). They are circular and of different dimensions, and rest upon lattice-work about four feet high, which is held together by borders above and below, but may easily be taken to pieces. The skeleton of the habitation, which stands upon this frame, is composed of poles which meet at top. These are covered with thick gray or white felt, which, among the more opulent people, are worked at the borders with cords of plaited hair. They are tied round with hair-ropes, which keep them fast, and only one opening is left for an entrance, which is closed externally with a felt-curtain.

The Calmucks are a tribe of the Oirät or Dorbon Oirät, that is, of the four confederates, called by the Mongols Oelöt. According to an ancient tradition current among them, the greatest and most powerful part of the Oelöt, having migrated westward and proceeded as far as Asia Minor, afterwards settled about the Caucasus. On this the rest of the Oelöt, who remained in Great Tartary, received from their Tartar neighbours the name of *Ckâlimack*, which signifies *those who staid behind*, from the verb *ckâlmack* to stay behind, which is still used in modern Turkey, and from this appellation the *Calmuck* of the Europeans is derived.

CHAPTER VII.

CUSTOMS OF THE LAMA RELIGION AMONG THE MONGOL NATIONS—EXTENSION OF THE LAMA RELIGION IN MONGOLIA—TEMPLES AND SACRED PLACES.

ACCORDING to a Mongol original work entitled *Spring of the Heart*, the earliest traces of the Lama religion among the Mongols are met with at the time of Dshingis-chan. After this conqueror had laid a solid foundation for his new monarchy, he penetrated in the year 1209 into the north of China, which was then subject to the Tungusian nation of the Niu-dschi*, and in 1215 made himself master of their capital Yan-ginn, the modern Pe-king. Before his armies entered Tibet, he sent an embassy to Bogdo-sott-nam Dsimmo, a Lama high-priest, with a letter to this effect: "I have chosen thee as high-priest for myself and my empire; repair then to me, and promote the present and future happiness of men. I will be the supporter and protector; let us establish a system of religion, and unite it with the monarchy," &c. The high-priest accepted the invitation, and the Mongol history literally terms this step, *the period of the first respect for religion*, because the monarch, by his public profession, made it the religion of the state. How little better Dshingis himself was for the adoption of this faith, is evident from his perseverance in his wanton attacks on every country and nation within his reach; and finally by his putting to death Schuddurga, the eminently pious and deified king of Tibet. Neither Dshingis nor his son and successor Oegödäh had, on account of their continual wars, much leisure for the propagation of the religion of the Lama. Möngkö-chan, the son and successor of Tooläh, was the second who invited Garma, the Lama of Tibet, appointed him high-priest to his court and his hordes, and took pains to introduce this religion among the principal persons in his dominions. On the accession of Chubilä Zäzzän-chan, his brothers sent from their midst prince Dondah, with the following imperious letter, to Sadscha Bandida, the Aennätkäkian (Indian) Lama, who had just arrived from his own country in Tibet: "Sadscha Bandida, thou must come to me; urge not thine age as a plea for the enjoyment of repose. It is your duty to promote the welfare of all creatures, and for this reason men of

* This dynasty was termed in Chinese *Gin*, that is, the golden; and its sovereigns are the Altunchans of the historians of western Asia.

your profession are accounted sacred. In case thou shouldst not come, I could send nations to thee, and the hardships of so many people would grievously afflict thy heart." Sadacha Bandida, seeing that he had no alternative, immediately repaired to Mongolia, where he was cordially received, and where Gondan, another brother of Chubilä-chan, was the first who took at his hands the religious vow. This Lama, who was then very old, lived only seven years longer, in which interval he founded many temples, and brought the religion into a very flourishing state. But he rendered a still more important service to the Mongol tribes by inventing a new and peculiar character for writing, which bore no resemblance to any other, and which one of his successors Zordschi Osser brought to its present perfection; and also by commencing the translation of the religious books of India and Tibet. The Mongols from this period made such progress in literature, that they not only possessed the whole of their religious books in their native tongue, and even cut them in wood and printed them, but, as it is well known, they likewise performed the service of the temples and the domestic religious ceremonies no longer in the Tibetian, but in the Mongol language. By transmitting these works from one generation to another, the Mongols also who resided upwards of eighty years ago on the frontiers in the Russian territory retained the use of their mother tongue in their religious worship, till the Tibetian method of reading and prayer was introduced by missionaries from Tibet, and the present clergy universally established; since which time all the Mongols are accustomed to have their domestic religious ceremonies performed partly by Lamas and partly by learned laymen, as is still done, chiefly in the Mongol language.

The propagation of this new religion therefore occasioned the erection of numerous temples and other religious places in Mongolia. The history of that country relates that the first temples in the empire were built on the river, and in the province of Scharräi-Gol, that is to say, without and to the north of the Chinese wall, and in the like direction from Liao-dsun, and that convents and schools were founded at the same time.

They call their temples Dazang, Kiet, and Sümme. They are built of stone and wood. Among the roving tribes they are ordinary felt-huts, but of superior dimensions, and more solid and handsome than those which are used for habitations. It is in very few places in Mongolia that you meet with temples of stone, and that only in such settlements as have a large population and considerable markets. Numberless small temples are to be found in the great and small hordes; for every tribe and district has for each of its divisions a particular temple, to which and to no other it belongs, according to the regulations established among them.

A license from a Lama of very high rank is absolutely requisite for the erection of a new temple. Such a license is granted to the people, upon a petition delivered by a formal embassy; and the permission, accompanied with the most solemn benedictions, invariably enjoins them to conduct the building of the intended temple agreeably to all the established rules; to make such a use of it as shall be pleasing to God, to consecrate it, and to adhere inviolably to the covenant entered into upon that occasion. An honorary name is likewise assigned to the new temple, and it is placed under the particular patronage of some saint by the grand Lama.

Even in regard to the situation of the intended temple, there are ordinances which if possible must be exactly observed. The front, for instance, must command an open prospect over a level country to the south. It is most desirable to have a stream running past the front of the temple, and for want of that a lake or pond; but where there are springs, they must be situated on the west side. An eminence is preferred for the site of the edifice; with hills rising behind it, but none in front: neither must there be any on the right and left, though they should not by any means be wanting in the rear.

When a proper situation has been selected for the temple, the numerous ecclesiastics repair thither, attended by a great concourse of people. Here they offer up prayers relating to the presence of God, and to the vivifying and protecting spirits of the earth; in which the necessity of such a situation is considered, the grant of it for the purpose of erecting a temple solicited, and it is thereupon consecrated. I have myself seen them not only pray for the grant of the site of the structure, but likewise of the timber, in the woods to which the procession repaired, and consecrate with the utmost solemnity the materials for building, and in a word collect with the highest reverence whatever belongs to the temple, in order to render it a real sanctuary. The work is accomplished by public contributions, and not only the meanest but the highest contributors make a point of occasionally lending their personal assistance, and of affording the labourers every possible convenience.

The ground-plan of a temple is marked out with the greatest precision to correspond with the four cardinal points, so that the front may look direct south. A square is marked out, in the centre and at the four corners of which holes are dug, where small brass vessels with costly spices, medicines and inscriptions, are deposited, consecrated with great solemnity for the ground-work of the temple, and covered up; after which the foundation of the building is laid. To give some idea of the Lama temples, I will subjoin a description of that where I resided for some time among the clergy in Mongolia. This temple was one of the ten built in the

remote provinces, of wood, in the Tibetian style of architecture; the second in point of size, but the most important and regular of them all; the diocese of whose high-priest extended over several tribes and four other temples. In 1781 it consisted only of a centre building, which was the largest, and had at some distance round it four small temples facing the four points of the compass. The ecclesiastics, whose vanity rendered them solicitous to augment the splendour of their temple, in conjunction with the members of their diocese, made further additions by erecting at the corners of the centre of the edifice four chapels of wood, of the same dimensions as the others; so that it formed one grand temple composed of three rows of buildings, having three in each row, containing within its precincts about twenty dwelling-houses for the priests of the diocese, which produced a very animated and pleasing effect. Each of these chapels is destined for different solemnities, at which the numerous ecclesiastics officiate. They differ in size alone; as, according to the nature of the solemnity, a greater or a less number of officiating clergy is required.

It has already been observed that all the temples front the south. The building is invariably a regular square, with three doors, many windows, and twenty-four handsome pillars; it has always a pretty lofty basement. Behind, or towards the north, there is never any door or entrance. That where I resided, called Gendun Dardshaling, was surrounded externally with lattice-work connected with the roof of the edifice, to which there is an ascent by a small staircase. Over the roof, which descends obliquely on every side, was a smaller story, with lattice door and windows, designed for a chapel; and above that a still smaller, empty apartment, gradually narrowing upwards. The top was crowned by an oblong entablature, for the decorations of the temple, which consist of very large figures carved in wood, placed in a row, and painted with gaudy colours, and the middlemost of which was gilded. This gilded *Bumba* is a holy water-vessel; the other figures on each side have an allegorical allusion to the philosophers' stone of the Bramins *, and have all very elegantly carved pedestals, of equal size, each representing a lotus, which the Burchans commonly have for their seats. The rear of the three stories of the roof is decorated with pretty carved work, which represents flames of fire (*ossir*), all exactly alike, bending downward from every side. On the lower side of the hanging projections, at the back of the three gradations of the roof, are knobs shooting downward into a point like flames; and on the upper side, on all the three stories, are placed twelve monstrous dragons' heads, cast in moulds, looking downward. This middle

* Sindamanih is an allegorical system of the philosophers' stone, and very curious and remarkable,

chapel has an ante-hall, nearly as large as the building itself, for such of the congregation as cannot find room within. It is supported by twelve columns decorated with allegorical carvings; and its large roof connects with the temple on the second story. Its three ridges give it a resemblance to a roof erected over three series of galleries, on which are also carved representations of flames, and at the corners and lower ends are fixed large dragons' heads. The whole court round the temple is encompassed with a very good square ballustrade, which has on the sides gates for entrance with iron locks. These, as well as the bolts of the doors and windows of the temple, are secured with a seal which stamps the impression of the Burchan sceptre.

The four principal chapels erected on the outside stand close to the court of the great temple just mentioned, and are connected with it by means of distinct, inclosed court-yards, in the centre of which they are situated. The architecture of these chapels is precisely the same as that of the building already described; except that they have only one door, fewer windows and columns, no middle story; but the same decorations to the roof both on the top and sides.

In the exterior space at the four corners, at first left vacant, were afterwards erected, as I have already observed, four more chapels of different dimensions upon the plan of the other four principal ones. All the wood-work and the inclosures of this edifice are painted of a brownish red colour. The curious decorations on the top and edges of the roof, very beautifully painted, gilt and varnished, are constantly protected by particular coverings from the influence of the weather, which are taken off on the monthly prayer-days.

On the outside of these religious edifices is a deep well, with a large kitchen and a spacious cellar, of which a general use is made, when the people, assembled to solemn fast and prayer-days, provide food and drink for the numerous ecclesiastics. At a little distance from the outermost door of the temple is a high altar for incense, and not far from the temple a kind of tower, which has a lofty balcony with an ascent by a flight of steps, an ornamented roof, and a gallery. From this place the wind-instruments announce the time of meeting for public worship.

Besides these edifices for the general purposes of religion, the Mongols have here and there in the country small chapels, on the outside of which they merely stop to pray as they pass by. They are called Bum-Cham, are elegantly built, surrounded with an inclosure, and commonly stand on a hill. In these Bum-Cham are deposited the sacred articles, which in their opinion assure the peace and prosperity of the country and the spiritual welfare of all creatures.

The Russian Mongols have temples of this kind built in the Tibetian style, of wood and stone, near the Chinese frontiers in the government of Irkutzk, in various places, as on the river Tschikoi, which was the first erected, and that under the superintendence of a Tibetian missionary. The priest of this principal temple was formerly the diocesan of the clergy of the other nine temples; but at present his prerogatives extend to no more than two of them. This temple, in regard to size, is the most considerable of all, but the additional buildings are unfinished and gone to decay. Its two subordinate temples are likewise situated on the east side of the river Selenga; the one on the rivulet of Arra-Kärähtu, which falls into the river Chilok; the other at the springs of Buldaimer, near the Selenga, 40 wersts from Kjachta. The second chief temple, of which a circumstantial description has been given, is situated 25 wersts from the town of Sselenginsk, on the south-west side of the great lake of Külling-Nuhr, called by the Russians there Gusinoi Osero. Of the other four temples, under the superintendence of the latter, the first lies to the northward beyond that lake, near the rivulet of Sagasstäh, which falls into it; the second on the river Sidda, about 30 wersts north-west of Kjachta; the third more westward, on the river Oettschöhtäh; and the fourth still further westward, on the river Goseläh. In the territory of Nertschinsk are two more temples of this kind; the one on the river Zulchur-Gol, which falls by means of the Chilok into the Selenga, and the other on the river Chuddai-Gol, which discharges itself into the Uda and Selenga. All these ten temples are individually termed *Kumirna* by the Daurian Russians, because they are but little acquainted with the Mongol appellation *Dazang*.

CHAPTER VIII.

INTERNAL ARRANGEMENT AND SACRED FURNITURE OF THE MONGOL TEMPLES—ALTARS—MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS—PRAYER-WHEELS—FURNITURE OF THE ALTARS—THEIR DECORATIONS—SACRED BOOKS.

THE internal arrangement of all the temples is essentially alike. At Gendun Dardshaling, described above, the inner walls and ceiling are completely covered with paper made by the Lamas themselves. The ground was orange, and upon it appeared many great *Lu* or dragons impressed with Chinese paint and stamps, which also they had themselves very ingeniously cut out.

Immediately on entering the door you perceive opposite to you, at the north wall, a lofty throne with nine stages of very curious carved work. Before it stands a small high table; and on the east side are steps by which the chief priest ascends to perform public worship. On the table are laid books, a bell and other instruments. Above the throne is a splendid silk canopy adorned with beautiful fringe and tassels. Behind are very neat cushions. No person is allowed to mount this throne but the superior Lama, who falls upon his knees, and in this attitude performs divine worship. On the right hand is another still larger and higher throne of a similar construction, but supported at the base by lions and other carved and painted figures, and decorated with much greater magnificence: this is never ascended by any one, nor even touched with the hands; because it is considered as the symbolical throne of the invisible presence of God. His worshippers merely touch it with the forehead to receive the benediction, which the Lama imparts to the people by imposition of hands. Still further to the right of these two thrones is an altar for sacrifice, provided with all the requisite utensils; and on the wall behind it are suspended magnificent allegorical pictures of the saints. On the eastern or left side of this altar and the two thrones are some elevated seats for the principal Lamas who assist their superior in his functions. The whole north wall in general is full of pictures of the most distinguished saints, and all the other sides are hung with neat allegorical paintings. By the twenty-four pillars of this temple, on each side of the middle avenue, are long ranges of benches provided with cushions, and small low tables placed before them for the inferior clergy, who are so numerous that when seated in rows they occupy the whole area of the temple exceping a few narrow passages. All the rest of the congregation are obliged to be content to sit or stand

in the gallery and halls with doors and windows open; and when the benediction is given, they have scarcely room to enter by all the three doors, and go away again through the narrow vacancies between the priests. In the chief and centre temple there are likewise, just on the right and left of the entrance, two raised seats for the *Gebgü* or temple-wardens, who, during divine service, mostly stand at their posts or walk up and down, as well among the inferior priests as among the people, to enforce the strictest order. Between the pillars of the avenue in the middle are suspended rows of prodigious drums, which are beaten by the sitting priests to certain psalms and prayers of thanksgiving accompanied with other music, and also brass trumpets a fathom in length.

The interior arrangements of the smaller temples are only more simple, but in other respects the same, and consist of a high-altar, double rows of cushions, symbolical decorations, and musical instruments: but as the chief Lama seldom performs divine service in these small chapels, there is no particular throne erected for him. They are merely designed to afford the people the convenience of attending the prayers addressed to different saints and the solemnities on the prayer-days, in several places at the same time, without being disturbed by the difference of these devotions.

To the most sacred objects of the temples belong likewise the numerous symbolical figures of the gods and spirits, and other things relative to religion, as also the altars. They are of different dimensions, but always curiously wrought. The altars *Tapzang* or *Schiräh* of the small temples are composed of a kind of table with three stages, which is two or three ells in length, the same in height, and one ell in breadth. Each stage of the altar is raised two or three *werschok* above the other, according to the nature of its construction. On the uppermost stage always stands a long narrow and rather high box of neat workmanship, which is exactly of the same dimensions as the highest stage, and in which are deposited all the books, images of gods, and other sacred things; these are taken out on solemn occasions alone, at which times this highest step of the altar serves to hold the books, which are most superbly bound. The middle stage of the altar is for the images of the gods and other painted figures, and utensils for sacrifice, consisting of small metal bowls: these, filled with vegetables, are set out in rows. The lowest stage is for the seven small bowls called Zögözü, all containing pure water, and between which is placed an eighth, somewhat in the form of a lamp. Pastils also are set out in particular, small vessels. In the private temples of people of rank and fortune a large case with glass doors, or a splendid canopy with curtains, is provided for such

an altar, to protect these sacred articles from dust and smoke. All the wood-work of the altars and their different stages is moreover decorated with peculiar carving and painting of good design. The ground is always cinnabar red; the edges are either painted yellow or gilt, and the whole is covered with the durable Chinese lacker. The fore-part of the altar and its stages is painted with flowers only, and supported by lions; all this is not arbitrary, but a regular allegory. In front of the altar there is always a smaller and lower table of equal length with it, and likewise painted and varnished. On this table is placed a vessel, in which lighted pastils are daily set up, and a brass ewer, which is every morning replenished with fresh water, for the purpose of filling up the above-mentioned Zögözü, and sprinkling the altar and the offerings. On this table also is commonly kept a small censer, &c. Before the altars are various costly curtains adorned with jewels.

Though the decoration of the altars is governed by one general principle, yet in this particular there is a great difference, because very different prayers and equipage for the altar are prescribed for the service of the various saints: this, however, has no relation to any difference in the object of the doctrine, but rather to the fundamental principles of faith.

To the sacred furniture of the altars belong several other articles. A round, highly polished metal mirror (*Tolli*) of various dimensions, provided behind with a small handle, to which is tied a white silk ribband (*Chaddak*), and a high metal jug with a neck of regular workmanship (*Bumba*), always form part of a complete equipage for the altar. In this vessel, in which is kept the consecrating water, is put a stalk of Indian reed-grass tied up together with two of the most beautiful peacock's feathers. These feathers are daily dipped in the consecrated water, and the altar and other things belonging to the offering are sprinkled with them. This Bumba also is covered on the outside with a white silk ribband. To this vessel belongs likewise the *Mandal*, a curiously wrought basin for the most sacred beverage (*Thüssel*), which is poured upon the holy image, and when it runs down is caught in this vessel to be distributed among the people. Close to the principal altars, and on the right side of them, stand as many as three smaller ones, on which the numerous sacred articles, consisting of different musical instruments, are placed between the other utensils belonging to the altar: for on certain occasions the bowls, to the number at least of five very large and seven smaller ones, are ranged in from seven to nine different ways in rows. To the requisites for the altar belong also the *Schalsa* or *Dorma*, the meat-offerings to the gods. They are made of dough, of a pyramidal form, great and small according to different ordinances, very curiously

decorated with flowers of snow-white fat, likewise well painted, and placed in rows of seven each, and sometimes in double lines. These meat-offerings serve only for a certain time, after which they are commonly thrown away for the beasts in some clean unfrequented part of the steppe, and fresh ones are provided.

The musical instruments of the temples are of very different kinds. The prodigious drum, *Kängärgä*, is moved about upon legs of carved work. It is two or three *arschines* in diameter, about six *werschock* high, covered at both ends with camel-skin parchment, and on the outside commonly painted very curiously with dragons, and varnished. In the service of the temples it is hung upon poles, and beaten in very different times, both quick and slow, by means of a cudgel of regularly-curved hard wood, covered at the upper end with leather, and provided with a handle at the lower. In the next place, a great possaun (*Burän*) of brass, of singular workmanship, in three divisions, which are pushed out in blowing. The whole instrument is generally above a fathom in length, and when blown must be held by two persons, suspended from a pole. Further, metal plates, *Zang* and *Zelnäh*, of various sizes. In the middle is a round hollow with a broad brim, and they are beaten in time, at the public service, sometimes *piano* and sometimes *forte*. Another metal instrument, *Charrangai*, is composed of a large plate with a curved border. It is hung up by cords, and struck with a stick. Small hautboys, *Bischkühr-Gangurih*, likewise a loud-toned wind instrument, made of the long arm-bone of a vanquished hereditary enemy. *Choncho*, or the priest's bell with its small brass sceptre. *Dängschäh*, a little metal bell, which is struck. *Dung*, the beautiful shell of an Indian sea-snail, which has a very piercing sound. Lastly, the *Dumber*, a little drum, about the size of a very small flat saucer, beaten only by two large knots fastened to it by a short string. All these musical instruments have their prescribed uses, and belong to the sacred furniture of the temples and altars. The music itself is a mixture of tremendous sounds, which shake the whole temple, and would rather scare than attract the connoisseur. It is nevertheless perfectly regular in its way, by no means arbitrary, and the clergy are particularly nice in the choice of their musical pupils. Only the great drum, *Kängärgä*, the bells and bowls, *Zang*, are struck in time, to accompany the joyful psalms and hymns of praise to their gods, when the whole of the ecclesiastics join in these psalms and in their general religious litanies, and thus give animation to their temple music. The remaining wind and other instruments are in general used at terrific exorcisms, but never with hymns of praise and litanies.

Among the most remarkable of the sacred utensils of the temples is the *Kürdä*,

a cylindrical vessel of wood or metal, either very small or of immense size. In its centre is fixed an iron axle; but the interior of the cylinder, which is quite hollow, is filled with sacred writings, the leaves of which are all stuck one to another at the edge, throughout the whole length. This paper is rolled tightly round the axis of the cylinder till the whole space is filled up. A close cover is fixed on at each end, and the whole Kürdä is very neatly finished, painted on the outside with allegorical representations, or Indian prayers, and varnished. This cylinder is fastened upright in a frame by the axis; so that the latter, by means of a wheel attached to it below, may be set a-going with a string, and with a slight pull kept in a constant rotatory motion. When this cylinder is large, another twice as small, and filled with writing, is fixed for ornament on the top of it. The inscriptions on such prayer-wheels commonly consist of masses for souls, psalms, and the six great general litanies, in which the most moving petitions are preferred for the welfare of all creatures. The text they sometimes repeat a hundred or even a thousand times, attributing from superstition a proportionably augmented effect to this repetition, and believing that by these frequent copies, combined with their thousands of revolutions, they will prove so much the more efficacious. You frequently see, as well on the habitations of the priests as on the whole roof of the temple, small Kürdä placed close to each other, in rows, by way of ornament; and not only over the gates, but likewise in the fields, frames set up expressly for these praying-machines, which, instead of being moved by a string, are turned by means of four sails, shaped and hollowed out like spoons, by the wind.

Other similar Kürdä are fastened to sticks of moderate thickness; a leaden weight is then fastened to the cylinder by a string, which, when it is once set a-going, keeps it with the help of the stick in constant motion. Such-like prayer-wheels, neatly wrought, are fastened upon short sticks to a small wooden pedestal, and stand upon the altars for the use of pious persons. While the prayer-wheel is thus turned round with one hand, the devotee takes the rosary in the other, and at the same time repeats penitential psalms.

A fourth kind of these Kürdä is constructed on the same principle as those which are turned by wind; only it is somewhat smaller, and the frame is adapted to be hung up by a cord in the chimneys of the habitations or huts of the Mongols. When there is a good fire, they are likewise set in motion by the smoke and the current of air, and continue to turn round as long as the fire is kept up.

A fifth kind of Kürdä is erected on a small stream of water, upon a foundation like that of a mill, over which a small house is built to protect it from the

weather. By means of the wheel attached to it, and the current, the cylinder is in like manner kept in a constant circular motion. These water-Kürdä are commonly constructed on a large scale, and maintained at the joint expense of the inhabitants of a whole district. They have a reference to all aquatic animals, whether alive or dead, whose temporal and eternal happiness is the aim of the writings contained in them: in like manner as the object of the fire-Kürdä is the salvation of the souls of all animals suffering by fire.

The allegorical representations of the holy, divine-human genii and symbols constitute a particular species of ornament of the altars. Of these there are two classes: the *Dolon Erdenih*, or seven jewels, and the *Naiman Takkil*, or eight altar-pieces. They form two distinct sets, and are either made of metal fixed on pedestals and gilded, or of paste beautifully painted and varnished, and placed upon the altars. The chief, or the seven jewels, are: First, the figure of a wheel, *Kürdä Erdenih*, emblematical of the divine, everlasting, uninterrupted existence of Schigimunih. Secondly, an elephant, *Saan Erdenih*, allegorical of his infinite greatness and constancy. Thirdly, a horse, *Morrin Erdenih*, an emblem of his all-excelling, rapidly-operating wisdom. Fourthly, an armed warrior, *Zerrekgien Nojon Erdenih*, a symbol of his power. Fifthly, a minister, *Tuschimel Erdenih*, an allegory of his sociability. Sixthly, a beautiful queen, *Chattun Erdenih*, the emblem of his charms surpassing all conception. Seventhly and lastly, the Bramin symbol of the philosophers' stone, *Sindamanih Erdenih**, that is, the possession of a temporal and eternal treasure excelling all other treasures.

The above-mentioned Naiman Takkil are likewise composed of metal or paper in the following manner:—1. *Schükker*, a very curious parasol or umbrella, alludes to his heavenly protection; and, 2. *Dung Burä*, a spiral posaun, to his all-penetrating, attractive and natural voice. 3. *Olsöhru Ultussu*, an ingeniously intertwisted ribband, called the science of unity. 4. *Altan Dsagassu*, gold fishes. These

* The original invention of the symbol of the philosophers' stone indisputably belongs to the Bramins. The precepts of Schigimunih are full of his exertions to obtain possession of it, and his final discovery of the secret. By the term *Sindamanih*, or the philosophers' stone, the Indian philosophers understand nothing more than the instructive system of "*divinely holy, meritorious wisdom without measure.*" Many Indian saints bear in their hands an emblem of this system, to denote their infinite sanctity. In their best pictures we seldom find a single, but a triple stone running at the upper end to a point, and surrounded with the radiant colours of the rainbow. Its immediate atmosphere is suffused with the glow of melted metal, whilst at a greater distance it exhibits the rainbow-coloured and most active of all flames. Its base is an Indian *Nymphæa magna incarnata*, or lotus.

prodigiously large fishes are emblematic of his contentment with all insatiableness. 5. *Linchowa*, the lotus, expresses the beauty and agreeableness of his countenance. 6. *Bumba*, an ewer, has a reference to his neck and breast. 7. *Sindamanih*, the philosophers' stone, to the wonderful works of his hands; and 8. *Kürdü*, a little wheel, to his feet. This symbol is found also in various delineations of Schigimunih.

A third series of similar emblems for the decoration of the altar is called *Tabun Küssul*. In general they are only painted after nature on the front of the altar, but sometimes they are wrought very neatly in metal, and placed upon it. *Tabun Küssul* is the symbol of the five senses. They are represented singly, with a lotus for their base, and in pictures lying one over another in a dish. As the matter for the formation of all creatures is supposed to have been derived from the ocean, so here the waves of the sea and the stem of a stately plant rising from them are made the base of the replenished dish. In the middle of it are commonly seen three beautifully-coloured apricots, which have been chosen for the emblem of taste. On one side lies either a lute or the spiral posaun already mentioned, as the symbol of hearing; and on the other a vessel with coals and smoking incense, the emblem of smell. At the top is a circular metal altar-mirror, to denote sight; and at the bottom on either side a very large superb veil, the symbol of feeling. The stem of the sea-plant with these emblems is to be seen in good pictures of their most revered saints. The plant, or rather tree, is so high that the image of the saint in the middle faces the upper part of it. The top of this tree has the appearance of a bush, in which is represented a small figure of a saint: it is called *Galbaraktscha*, and more highly venerated than any other tree. It is a tree of paradise, whose nature and fruits are accounted inestimable, incorruptible, and divine.

To the allegorical decorations of the temples and altars belong also pictures of the mystical emblems of the seven planets and other constellations, which however are smaller and more rare.

The ordinary decorations of the temples and altars are far more simple than those for festivals; the most splendid are reserved for the white or first month of the year. In every thing that belongs to the temple and altar the white silk *Chaddak* is introduced as much as possible. This is a gauze from the smallest measure to a fathom in length; the most valuable pieces come from Tibet; they are very neatly ornamented with flowers, and texts from the sacred writings are wrought on their borders.

The rosaries of the Lamas belong also to the ornaments of the altars. The most

common are composed of 108 corals; and they are used not only by the priests and ecclesiastical communities, but almost every individual among the laity is provided with such a rosary to assist his devotions. The priests carry it continually in their hands, or wear it round their necks. It is related that formerly a rosary of a thousand corals and another of twenty-one were in fashion, but since the time of Schigimunih they have both fallen into disuse.

Their images of the gods, and the pictures of innumerable saints, with which their temples are filled, and which are met with on all domestic and family altars, are of different kinds. Of the former, the small as well as the very largest are of cast metal, and very neatly gilt. At the foot of the pedestal there is always a cavity, in which consecrated, exorcised articles and writings are deposited, and secured with a cover. The images of the gods which have been stripped of these relics are no longer worshipped, but may be restored by great Lamas to their former consequence. The larger are for altars, and the smallest of all are worn in cases suspended by ribbands to the breast: so likewise are other images of the gods made of consecrated earth, mixed with the ashes of burned Lamas, very neatly moulded, and either gilt, or painted of a cinnabar red.

Paintings of the gods, of every size, are met with on all kinds of silks and other stuffs. Their execution is various, and the rarest on account of their excellence are of the highest value. You likewise find some of curious needle-work; one of these which I saw, and which was very large, cost the Mongols, who made it themselves, upwards of a thousand rubles. They worship also figures that are either printed black upon paper, or merely in outline; but these as well as all others must be consecrated.

Their religious works belong also to the most sacred articles of their temples. They are either written or printed. Now that the Tibetian Lama-religion has been for some centuries propagated in Mongolia, and high schools are founded, all the works of India and Tibet are not only translated into the Mongol language, but likewise cut in the neatest manner in wood and printed; so that these nations, after the example of several Chinese Mongolian provinces, perform the whole of their religious worship in their mother tongue. Their characters are always long and narrow, sometimes small, and at others of prodigious size. The large hand is always very neatly written, with flourished capitals, and read, like the European, from the left to the right and from the top to the bottom of the page. Every leaf is detached, and as the volumes are never stitched it is numbered on one side. The contents of the chapters are always placed in the margin, either on the right or left. Each

work has a particular title, and at the end there is generally an index according to the Tibetian alphabet. The body of the work is divided into sections, and the latter into chapters. No preface or introduction is ever to be found; but at the conclusion there is commonly a postscript by the translator, printer or publisher, which terminates with good wishes for the utility of the work. Not only the Mongol books, but likewise those of Tibet and India, are of the form described above. Each volume has a thin board on either side. When you read, you place these leaves if they are of large size on small tables before you, and by means of the boards you may very conveniently grasp the book, which is cut according to their length. The edges of the leaves are coloured red or yellow, as are also the boards, which are moreover varnished with the strongest lacker. With strings of immoderate length, either made of silk or neatly wrought with other materials, the books are tied as tightly as possible between their boards. They are besides wrapped in a particular manner, according to the importance of their contents, in a very large silken or cotton cover, sometimes doubled. These various envelopes are often more expensive than the book itself. Over this covering a very long, broad, wrought ribband is carried several times round, and in this state the sacred books are exposed to view on the uppermost stage of the altar. The rich have particular pieces, such as masses for souls, penitential psalms and litanies, written with the finest gold powder on dark blue paper. All sacred printed works have on the right and left side of the title-pages neatly-engraved representations of the saints of whom they treat. Every section, sometimes even every chapter, and the concluding page, are thus decorated. The books and manuscripts of a religious nature are reverenced as divine. A book or print must never be rudely handled, or laid in a mean or dirty place; it must not be stained in the least; it must not be touched with the skirt of the coat, the edge of the shoe, or any impure vessel; neither must it be covered with any thing of little value. When sacred writings are removed from one place to another, they are fumigated with spices, or for want of these with odoriferous herbs. Whoever would look into a holy book must previously obtain its blessing by touching it with folded hands and bowed head. If any person borrows one, he makes a small present to the owner, on returning it, for incense to fumigate it, or adds some new decoration to the cover. Near large collections of books a small altar is expressly erected, at which offerings are made and incense burned for the works. At a public removal of them, particular ceremonies, accompanied with prayer and music, are observed. The literary stores possessed by these people are exceedingly copious, and of infinite variety; so that the

great number of works with which I am acquainted are but a considerable part of the whole of those which the Russian Mongols have during a long period of time and with great pains collected. All their books, in regard to the subject-matter, are of Indian origin, and you meet with no alterations in religious customs and the service of the temples. Now and then, but very rarely, explanations and illustrations of certain works are produced by the patriarchs in Tibet. Their most extensive work, taken from the lips of Schigimunih by his disciples, is denominated by these people *Gandshuhr*, or Miraculous Pillar of Religion. It consists of 108 prodigious volumes, to which belong twelve more of mythology, called *Jömm*, and, with the exposition entitled *Dandshuhr*, composes in the whole 240 volumes. No part of their sacred writings is so highly valued as this. In all Mongolia and Tibet no person can, under a very severe penalty, procure or keep this work without a written permission from the Dalai Lama or the emperor of China. Hence all the Mongols within the Russian frontiers complain of its rarity, because they have often endeavoured but in vain to obtain it at a very great expense*. Agreeably even to the ancient precepts of their religion, these sacred writings must not be made generally known before their due time, which will be manifested of itself; because the publication of the Gandshuhr is designed only for those countries in which this faith is to become universal, and because many new appearances of ancient saints are connected with its adoption. The whole work, however, is engraved in the Mongol language, and printed in two sizes, the one in long narrow Indian and the other in Chinese folio. In the former I have seen only the twelve volumes of the Jömm; which were more than an *arschine* in length, about six *werschok* broad, and each near five *werschok* thick. At the reading of these books particular ceremonies must be observed; the rich only can yearly defray the heavy expenses attending it on account of the great number of ecclesiastics required on the occasion, and that not without the consent and permission of a great Lama.

* It was not till two years since that the Burättes, inhabiting the country southward of the Baikal, succeeded in procuring this highly-prized work from China.

CHAPTER IX.

CONTRIBUTIONS FOR THE SUPPORT OF RELIGION—ENDOWMENTS OF THE TEMPLES AND RELIGIOUS FESTIVALS OF THE RUSSIAN MONGOLS—MEETINGS IN THE TEMPLES—THEIR RELIGIOUS PRINCIPLES—THE CLERGY AND THEIR PRIVILEGES.

ALL the tribes of roving Mongols in the government of Irkutsk, who dwell beyond the lake Baikal and adhere to the Lama religion, built temples in community in ten different districts of the countries which they inhabited. Extensive and numerous tribes have each their own temple, and smaller tribes one in common, erected by general contributions, the surplus of which, in the first instance, is sometimes considerable. On any deficiency of the funds appropriated to the support of the temple, new contributions are raised; the increase of these funds continues without interruption, and voluntary gifts keep pouring into the general treasury. Even people of moderate fortune at their death bequeath part of their property not only to the clergy, but to the possessions of the temple. These possessions are under the general superintendence of the wardens, who appoint persons in different places to manage them, and annually make written inquiries on the subject. Their produce is applied solely to the general benefit and the improvement of the temple, and every superior Lama of a temple is the steward of these revenues.—Among the genuine Mongols of Russia a general prayer-day is held once a month. The clergy, who, with the exception of the superior Lamas, live scattered in the country, assemble regularly at noon on the 13th day to prepare for the prayer-day, which then commences, and lasts the whole of the following day till towards evening, when they again disperse. Besides this monthly meeting, the white month (*Zagan Ssarran*) is celebrated with religious ceremonies, which last three successive weeks, beginning with New Year's day. Their Christmas, or *Sulla*, falls in November.

In the temples where all the ecclesiastics, and all their men of rank and elders in general, meet monthly for the purpose of divine worship, public concerns and national affairs, whether of a religious or political nature, are discussed by the whole assembly; as on such days the people from all the country round repair by hundreds, nay by thousands, to these solemnities. Nothing remarkable occurs of which they do not inform each other at these meetings, and on the subject of which

they do not hold political conferences with their Lamas. The clergy and laity are on the most familiar footing. All of them are acute politicians, who view their constitution in its true light, and are actuated by the purest patriotism. The clergy govern all minds, and whether in unity or discord they invariably guide the helm. In all joint undertakings they are very resolute, but at the same time circumspect. They are fond of peace, and place their whole happiness in it, as is proved by their way of thinking and their declarations. Their system of religion is founded on purity of mind, rigid morality, and the welfare of the state and of mankind in general. No solemn prayer-day, no private devotions conclude without the most impressive and pathetic litanies and petitions for all ranks and classes of men. Of this religious system its votaries are extremely vain, and their law forbids them to compare it with any other. By religion they understand a distinct, independent, sacred moral code, which has but one origin, one source, and one object. This notion they universally propagate, and even believe that the brutes and all created beings have a religion adapted to their sphere of action. The different forms of the various religions they ascribe to the difference of individuals, nations, and legislators. Never do you hear of their inveighing against any creed, even against the obviously absurd Schaman paganism, or of their persecuting others on that account. They themselves, on the other hand, endure every hardship and even persecutions with perfect resignation, and indulgently excuse the follies of others, nay, consider them as a motive for increased ardour in prayer. Out of respect for other religions they even venerate the images of the Greek saints, burn lights before them or sacrifice to them unobserved when they are travelling among the Russians. As to the miracles of foreign saints, they believe and declare that these are an universal work of God arising from the same source whence their own religion is derived. From motives of genuine religion they love all men, and do all the good that lies in their power; they one exhort the other to acts of benevolence, from a conviction that it behoves us to perform them not so much on account of others as for our own sakes. This notion they strive to propagate, because it is praiseworthy and becoming; as every fellow-creature in distress has an equal right to succour. When they see untoward accidents befal any of their own number, or hear of their happening to strangers, they are always touched with pity; clergy and laity, old and young, small and great, side in preference with the oppressed, and particularly with the fair sex and children. With this zeal for active beneficence, they are seldom better pleased than with opportunities of exercising it. This universal religious charity is not rare among the

Asiatic nations. I have had occasion to remark it not only among the Mongols and Calmucks, but likewise in my intercourse with various Tartar hordes, and even among the Indians, Chinese, Tibetians, Bucharians, and Tunguses. This innate benevolence I found not only among the nomadic tribes that have embraced the Lama religion, but it is universal among even the pagan nations which adhere to the rites of the Schaman sorcery. However numerous the ceremonies of the Lama religion may be, its votaries display unwearied zeal in the observance of them, and neglect none of its injunctions. At the erection of their sacred edifices and the institution of their divine worship, they enter into a written engagement with the Lamas to keep up the service of their temples, to maintain their religious ordinances, and jointly to contribute whatever is necessary for those purposes.

The complement of ecclesiastics for the two chief temples consists of an abbot or *Bandida-Chamba*, a *Zordschi*, a *Schansabah*, two *Gebgü*, two *Gunsud*, two *Takkiltschi*, and some other priests, besides the inferior clergy, who, as the most promising boy in each family is commonly destined and educated for the ecclesiastical profession, are very numerous. All these are at certain times served, during divine worship, with an abundant repast. Each family knows before-hand when it will be its turn to provide food and other necessaries for the monthly festival and prayer-day. The cooking for so large a number of ecclesiastics is an important business, and it is therefore performed in person by each family on its respective day. The kitchen-furniture, as well as every thing belonging to the entertainment, is under the superintendence of an inspector-general appointed to manage that department, and under whose direction all the needful work is done by the providers. The very wood for fuel must be sent by each individual for his day. In the personal performance of this service even persons of the highest rank with their wives and children manifest the utmost zeal, and never hire others to officiate in their stead. Some days before the festival they repair in great pomp from the remotest parts. The eatables provided for such occasions are beef and mutton, grits, flour, butter, and milk, fresh and curded, and the beverage is China tea. The inspector of the kitchen merely gives directions concerning the mode of cooking and serving up: he takes care that every dish is dressed in a cleanly manner, and carried up in proper utensils into the temple to the clergy. The tea, boiled with a little salt, they make very palatable with cream and fresh butter, and the flesh-meat is distributed once during the service and a second time in the evening. The provider must also have ready a small sum of money to be distributed, at the conclusion, by way of alms,

among the ecclesiastics.—Should any individual neglect to furnish his share of the contributions, he must submit, according to their written engagement, to make good the deficiency with surcharges.

But a very small number of Lamas usually reside at the temples. The clergy being, as I have already observed, exceedingly numerous, and living dispersed over the country with their herds and relations; they cannot all separate themselves, with their property and possessions, from their families, in order to take up their abode at the temples. From ten to twenty of the inferior clergy live there for a month to take care of the temples, and to do the little daily duty which is to be performed. They then change, and observe their turns so exactly, that no individual is detained beyond his time, or has to officiate for another. The chief priest and his assistants have their permanent residence at the temple, to look to it that divine service is daily held, except on the great general festivals, by the younger ecclesiastics. They likewise attend to the repairs and cleansing of the sacred edifice, to the daily renewal of the decorations of the altar, to the replenishing of the vessels with fresh water, and to the lighting of the lamps and tapers: the rest of their time it is their duty to spend in study. Every morning after prayers they repair in their pontifical attire to the chief Lama, pay their obeisance to him, and silently perform their devotions at his feet, receive his benediction, and then return, unless he detains them to answer any questions.

CHAPTER X.

RELIGIOUS CEREMONIES—PRAYER-DAYS—SUBJECT OF THE PRAYERS—CUSTOMS OBSERVED ON SUCH OCCASIONS—SPECIMENS OF PRAYERS.

After all the necessary preparations have been made, and the people have assembled from far and near; after the altars have been decorated, and the lamps, tapers, and incense provided, as well for those within as for the great altar that stands without, the next step is the invitation of the high-priest and his retinue. These first go down into their houses at the temple and put on their pontifical habits. The time for doing this is signified by the high-priest to those who inquire with due humility. Hereupon two musicians mount the tower, and with the spiral trumpets blow in slow and solemn tones, with three distinct pauses. After this summons, the high-priest, in the dress of his office, and followed by his attendants, repairs to the temple. The other priests have mean while taken their station before the doors, where they await the Lama with his procession, which they join, after saluting him at a distance. The train then advance slowly to the door of the furthest small temple, where a carpet is spread before the *Chamba*, who steps upon it, and with the palms of his hands joined, and bare-headed, begins with bowing down to the earth, which is thrice repeated by all the people. The whole procession then moves from the south side thrice round the whole temple. At length the priests repair to their appointed places in the nine chapels, where, after touching the edge of the altar with their foreheads, they take their seats. These are not only allotted according to ranks and classes, but distinguished by double pulpits and other marks, according to the prerogatives and merits of the inferior Lamas. The doors always stand open during divine service; and any stranger, if he behaves with decency, has a seat assigned him. In all the temples divine service is performed at once; but the prayers and singing are totally different. The joint prayers of a monthly prayer-day are called *Arabsel*, that is to say, hymns of praise, and take place in the centre or great temple. In the other smaller chapels are held particular exorcisms prescribed by the different great formulæ of their gods, accompanied partly with soft partly with very harsh music. All the prayers are read or sung in one tone, and the *Gebgü* already mentioned take care that the congregation make no mistakes in the general text. They carry long staves decorated with ribbands, with which they

correct in the most impressive manner those who make repeated mistakes in reciting the prayers, at the same time going up and down between the rows, and strictly observing all that passes. The precentors only have here and there in the ranks a book lying on a little table before them, to which they can now and then refer: but in general they must repeat every thing from memory in one tone, and at certain times, for several days together, recite the contents of the largest books with the greatest fluency. They possess, indeed, an extraordinary capacity for learning by rote; and I have seen many, who while yet boys could not find books sufficient for the purpose. Of the uncommon talents of this nation, numbers of whose members voluntarily devote themselves to learning, I could relate many particulars which would appear incredible. That the text and the tune may be heard equally well throughout, both during prayers and singing, a *Gunsud* (bass-singer) keeps all the voices in order, and sings the beginning and the conclusion of each prayer remarkably loud. A learned priest who has a good bass voice is always selected as Gunsud, and invested with peculiar privileges.

On the prayer-days they begin their devotions with the creed, and this is followed by various hymns of praise to their saints. At certain intervals pauses are made between the prayers, and tea is frequently handed about. For this purpose each person carries with him a neatly varnished, wooden Chinese cup, wrapped in a handkerchief; when he is going to use it he takes it from his bosom, but never drinks out of an utensil belonging to another. Minced meat also is eaten out of this cup with small sticks. The chief Lama occasionally withdraws for a short time, and all the others follow him. On such festivals, as I have already observed, many thousands assemble. Men and women, children of both sexes, old and young, all come on horseback in numerous and jovial companies to meet their most distant friends, and each individual is anxious to appear as fine as possible.—At the devotions of the laity they go in whole troops round the temple, and at each door the act of bowing is performed thrice or nine times; but each individual is permitted at certain times to push through the priests in the temple to obtain a blessing either from the chief Lama, or by touching the altar. These various devotions are continued by them the whole day till they are tired; and the most pious are constantly repeating different prayers on their beads. The young people, in the mean time, converse only with their friends. About noon a signal is given, at which all in and about the halls of the temple seat themselves, to hear the high mass, or the benediction of the holy bath *Thüssel ien Ukijahl.* Here each sits bare-headed, with his flat hands joined together and raised, but his eyes fixed on the ground. A select number of ecclesiastics, who

are to perform this mass, then rise; the prayer and singing for the imagined presence of God is accompanied with music. This their sacrament is attended with ceremonies that can scarcely be rendered intelligible. One of the priests holds up on high the mirror, *Tolli*, which is to receive from above the likeness of the holy Schigimunih. The sprinkling-vessel, *Bumba*, is held up by a second; the *Mandal* by a third, the basin by a fourth, and other sacred utensils by others. While this is going forward, the whole congregation becomes, as it were, inspired by the prayer and music. At intervals the priest who holds the *Bumba* pours upon the mirror water in which sugar and saffron have been dissolved; and each time another priest wipes the edge of the mirror with silk gauze*. The water poured upon the mirror runs down over the *Mandal*, and is caught beneath in a basin. The several vessels required for this purpose are held up aloft by priests. The consecrated liquid is at last collected in another *Bumba*, and the chief priest drops a small quantity of it in the hand of each of the persons present, who receive it in the attitude of adoration, lick it with their tongues, and rub it upon the forehead, crown of the head, and breast.

This *Thüssel ien Ukijahl*, or water thus consecrated, is the most sacred beverage, and at the same time an abluent which the Lamas consecrate and distribute on every prayer-day. They believe that by their ardent prayers they obtain the enjoyment of the particular divine presence of Schigimunih, and that his image is reflected in the mirror. The water poured upon this circular metal mirror denotes that Shigimunih was thus baptized immediately after his birth by Churmusstu Tängri. The gentle wiping of the mirror with fine gauze every time the water is poured out, shows how that infant was often wetted and often dried with the softest silk. The *Mandal* which is held under the mirror, and on which are sketched the Sümmer Oohla (the Mount Ssumeru of the Indians) and the four quarters of the globe, represents the earth consecrated by the water which flowed from the bath of Schigimunih. The Lama Ukijahl sacrament likewise refers to this subject; and the basin held beneath all, receives this water of ablution after it has flowed over the earth consecrated by its influence.

When this sacrament is finished, the common hearers go out to a little distance from the temple, or walk about it in private devotion. The priests now pray the exordium of the six great *Jorähl*, that is, the universal Litanies. At length another

* *Kip-chaddak* are fine silks of a red, blue, green, yellow, and white colour, which are frequently used to wrap the idols in, and to adorn temples, altars, and consecrated things.

signal is given, on which the people again assemble in the temple, and, seated on the ground, listen devoutly to the general prayer of benediction for the temple. Before this prayer, the two wardens, *Gebgü*, hand to the chief priest a white silk *chaddak*, a piece of gauze or ribbon, and it is announced by what persons the expenses of the present prayer-day are defrayed, and what voluntary alms they have caused to be distributed. Others of the congregation inform the Lama what and how many persons have died during the past month: others again report (previously to the praying of the Litany, which succeeds the delivery of the chaddak,) the state of such as are dangerously ill. All such notices are then severally introduced by the chief Lama into the general prayer. The general benediction, accompanied with the most lively music, prayer, and singing, is then pronounced, on which, by way of conclusion, each individual presses through the throng of priests with great difficulty to a door, to receive the blessing of the old Lama by the imposition of hands, of a book, or of a rosary. Thus ends the prayer-day; on which all the people mount their horses and return, great and small, in numerous companies, to their habitations. The whole body of priests must meanwhile attend their superior in procession from the temple to his residence, where they bow, take leave, and then disperse.

These general monthly prayer-days are all alike in respect to the mode in which they are conducted; except that on the first prayer-day in the white month, or New Year's day, the service is somewhat different. On this occasion the prayers begin in the night, and are finished by day-break. This is the greatest festival of the Lamaites. The decorations of the temples and altars are better than ordinary. For the service of the altar is required a lamb, which, after being killed, flayed, and dressed, is set upright on all four legs, till it becomes stiffened by the frost: the ears and nose are left on the head. In this state the lamb is placed among other new-year's offerings upon the altar, and consecrated to Okka Tängri, the guardian deity of all creatures. When the holidays are over it is dressed and eaten by the servants of the temple.

Their *Sulla* festival always falls on the 24th day of the middle month of winter. The preparations and concourse of people are likewise great, and the religious ceremonies continue several days. It is celebrated in honour of an ancient, eminent, deified teacher, named Sonkawah, who was an Indian, and distinguished himself by his extraordinary miracles. So early as his time the hierarchy of Schigimunih had been persecuted and oppressed by the well-known collateral sects of Schiwa. Sonkawah was the man to whom their ecclesiastical annals ascribe the sole glory of having raised religion from its state of decay. The greatest antiquities

and treasures of this Burchan are yet shown in Dschammah Kuräh, Dschammah Kiet (in the maps Tschonkur), an extensive Tungusian or Sifanian city. The chief ceremonies of this festival take place in the night of the 24th day of the month, and its commencement is announced to the people by a solemn prayer accompanied with the beating of drums. Before the front door of the temple a lofty quadrangular altar, with from three to nine stages, is erected in the open air. These stages are decorated with some thousands of small lamps made of wheaten dough, which are moulded and brought in multitudes by the people, according to the number of persons in every family, or still more commonly according to the age of each individual. The wick is composed of a very slender stalk of grass enveloped with cotton; and instead of oil, the lamp is filled with melted, clarified butter, and brought after it has become hard. When the preparations for the altar and the prayers are completed, in the evening, after dusk, the Lama is invited, and attended with posaums; and then the procession moves in a continual circle round the throne embellished with thousands of lights. The image of the Burchan Sonkawah, fixed to the end of a long pole, is borne in front, and the whole train of musicians and ecclesiastics, together with all the rest of the people, follow the Lama. The clergy keep praying incessantly in one uniform tone, accompanied with the most obstreperous music; and the people, who know all these prayers by heart, join in them; as do even the children also in such as they have learned. The lamps usually burn two hours; the procession lasts that time, and when it is over, each person returns home the same night. These solemnities are very numerously attended, and children as well as grown people assemble from the remotest parts.

As the public has very inaccurate notions respecting the subject of their prayers, I shall subjoin a few short pieces of that kind, beginning with their creed called *Ittegel*, which is their high mass. The prayers used in the temples are in general composed by the most eminent Lamas and Tibetian patriarchs, and grounded on the fundamental doctrines of Schigimunih. Some of these pieces are of such length as to be adapted not only to the prayer-days but to other religious meetings of longer duration.

*The Creed Ittegel**.

"To him who appeared in the ten regions of the universe, and in all the three ages, as the First Cause of all things; to him who overcame the 84,000 obstacles

* All the following pieces are translated from the Mongol, as literally as the usages of our language will permit.

to holiness by a like number of celestial precepts; to this greatest of high-priests and source of all the saints that ever appeared, be all honour of faith!

"To *Burchan* (God) be all honour of faith! To the *Nomm* (heavenly doctrines) be all honour of faith! To the *Bursang-Chubrakgoot* (propagators of the doctrines) be all honour of faith!

"To the whole host of immaculate saints be all honour of faith! To the most glorious and sublime protection of religion be all honour of faith!"

These strophes are thrice repeated.

"To the most righteous founder of all religion, his precepts and his instruments, be given by me, till I shall once attain my holy consummation, all honour of faith! May my imitation of all works pleasing to God tend to his due glorification in the sight of all creatures!"

This paragraph is also thrice repeated.

"To this threefold holy system be given by me all honour of faith! For wicked actions I confess myself to be full of constant penitence. Ah! may my sole delight consist in zealous endeavours to do good, as my duty commands, to all creatures! May thy divine-human example be the guide of my heart! Not only for the honour of thy threefold meritoriousness, but likewise for the performance of my duty, I wish to possess this degree of perfection. By the fulfilment of this duty may I become an example for the imitation of all creatures! May the object and way of all holy and meritorious examples be acknowledged with the most upright mind, and in the most cheerful manner! For the welfare of all creatures we will glorify this in thee."

This part is likewise thrice repeated.

"O that all creatures might be grounded in prosperity and happiness! O that all may be constantly kept at a distance from all tribulation and distress! May they be always undivided from felicity, and unassailed by affliction! O that all creatures might remain severed from the two most dangerous of evils, lust and revenge!"

This is also thrice repeated. Whoever follows these examples is out of all danger from sensuality.

"To all true expositions, to all and each propagator of salvation, and instrument of the Most Holy, be honour and adoration!—He, the most perfect of beings himself, taught this, and thus prayed to his elementary principle. Therefore to this primary system (which he himself adored) be at all times honour and adoration! To him, who by his glorious, resplendent beams dissipates all doubt-creating darkness, to the profound and immeasurable Sammandabadrih, be all honour and adora-

tion! Thou who art become the faith of the whole world; thou who alone conquerest all the inexterminable assailing hosts, perfectly glorified holiness! be pleased to descend into this place. In the same manner as at thy birth the principalities of heaven performed thy first consecration and baptismal mass with the purest celestial water, so I venture to renew the sacred rite by this representation. With a look of pure faith at thy former existence, I perform this act in gentlest manner. O that in this representation I may find and contemplate thee, once glorified, as thou really art! O that all creatures in the universe, pursuing the flowery road which leads to thy kingdom, where incense fills all the atmosphere, and the firmament is bedecked with sun, moon, and planets, may arrive in the pure regions of thy righteousness!"

This principal portion of their confession of faith is repeated by the people on all religious occasions at the commencement of their devotions. Not only the priests but also the laity recite such-like prayers every day, morning and evening; at the same time placing themselves in preference upon very clean carpets, cross-legged and bare-headed. Even small children of both sexes repeat them like the priests both in the Tibetian and Mongol language, with the greatest fluency and devotion; squatting down in silence and previously putting incense upon burning coals in a vessel kept for the purpose, which they set before them. This is probably designed to intimate their hope that their prayers may, like this agreeable odour, ascend through the heavens to the Almighty. Whilst at prayer their devotion is so fervent, that no other matter can divert their attention. Their sacred books, enveloped in all kinds of silk and cotton stuffs, are laid upon their laps, and for their more convenient use a small table stands before them. When they take up a book to pray, they first bless themselves by laying it upon their heads, and every individual present receives the same benediction. Should any one chance to be present during prayer, he makes an obeisance to the person who is holding the book, were it even a layman, and begs the blessing. On pronouncing the name of a saint they extend the hand which is at liberty, and raise it a little. Excepting the prayers used at high mass and those containing vows, the laity may also, in the absence of ecclesiastics, perform all religious exercises among the people in the Tibetian and Mongol language; even the consecration of the second hallowed water *Arschahn*, with which they baptize their children a few days after their birth, bathe the sick, or, from devotion seek to preserve themselves and their families from contamination, is not forbidden to the laity. This act is never omitted on prayer-days. A capacious vessel, filled with clear water a little coloured with milk, is carried round by

one of the servants of the temple at a certain time, and held before each of the priests, who repeat certain adjurations, and, while pronouncing Indian proverbs, blow several times on the water. When duly consecrated in this manner, it is ready to be used, under the observance of particular rules, for purification, and distributed.

As a specimen of the sacred hymns which they address to holy persons, I shall give an extract from that to the universal *godhead's-motherhood*, or *Darrah-Ekke*. This godhead's-motherhood is ascribed to the deceased saints of the female sex, and especially to the wives of their great, deified, new-born Chomschin-Boddisaddo; and each of these hymns is addressed to the persons who are allegorically pourtrayed in their temples. One of these deified females is represented white, and another sea-green. The former was an Indian, the latter a Chinese princess. The first hymn of praise is dedicated to the white deified Darrah-Ekke, as she is called, of whose immaculate purity and exalted merits whole volumes have been written; and it is to the following effect*:

"To the holy Darrah-Ekke be honour and adoration!—Saviour of the world, Darrah-Ekke, Saviour from the eight evils of the world, deliverer from all tribulation and all diseases! To thee, holy mother and redeemer, be adoration and praise! Art thou not seated on thy lotus-throne, thou institutrix of this holy sceptre-like mode of sitting†?—To thee, the giver of all happiness, be all adoration! To thee, like the full-orbed moon in the serenest autumnal season, reclining on thy lunar throne, arrayed in thy sumptuous attire, with blossomed branches in thy hands; to thee be honour and praise! Thou who full of brightness and charms resemblest a beauteous form of sixteen years, thou art the source of all past and future holinesses. To thee, who accomplishest all wishes, to thee, holy mother most replete with happiness, most holy redeemer, be all honour and adoration!—Motherhood in white radiance, with the white Kürdä-wheel, on whose eight spokes the inscriptions of eight emblems are continually revolving, arch-motherhood, to thee be herewith all honour and thanksgiving!—To thee, in thy paradisiacal kingdom, in thy harvest of souls yonder, in the lovely, the enchanting region of spirits, ah!

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* In all prayers the allegorical figures are commonly placed on the front of the altar, and according to the typical representation all their remarkable properties are extolled in words.

† *Sceptre-like mode of sitting.*—This term is applied to the custom of sitting cross-legged, and with the soles of the feet turned upwards. The Burchans are represented with a double sceptre crossed in this manner.

most motherly parent of all the saints of the three ages of the world, motherly redeemer, be thanks and praises!—Holy mother! salvation-giving mother! mother, who prolongest the years of our lives in prosperity! ah, most exalted of spiritual powers, on thee I call with deep devotion. To thee I pray to divert from me and to protect me from all the dangers that may threaten me throughout my whole life. Thou wilt redeem and deliver us; thou wilt infallibly have mercy upon us, and arm us with supernatural energies against whatever may befall us.—Redeeming mother! defend, while I live, me thy child, who am constantly imploring thy succour. In my devotions to thee, keep me firmly attached to thee by the hook of thy attraction.—Sublime spirit, in thy majestic, moon-like splendour, ah! mild and serene countenance; ah! decorated with jewels and rich treasures, arrayed in thy most pleasing attire—sublime spirit, behold how, while I live, I lie in the dust before thee, and render to thee with all my powers praise and thanksgiving!"

SPECIMEN OF ANOTHER HYMN OF PRAISE TO THE JEALOUS, GREEN DARRAH-EKKE, OR NOGON DARRKI.

(An Extract from the twenty-one eulogies on her.)

"To thee, holy mother, be all honour and adoration! To the unfathomable mercy of Chomschin-Boddi-Saddo be glory and thanksgiving!

"Thou who appearedst on the glorious mountain Buddalah, through the sea-green sign *Danch*, crowned with the crown of the holy Abida Burchan, holy redeemer Darrah-Ekke, together with thy holy company of priests, be pleased to be present with us in these our devotions!

"To thee, who tramplest under thy right foot the crown of the fallen hostile *Assurih* (angel); ah! deliverer from all the dangers of hell, to thee, holy mother, we pay honour and adoration!

"Glory be to thee, thou redeemer, who hastenest to save, with eyes like the swift lightning; to thee, the perfection of beauty, springing from the stream of faith of all ages, like a lovely flower unveiling her face in the dawn!

"Adoration be to thee, O perfection! like the resplendent moon in the serenest autumnal season; to thee, moon-countenance with a hundred phases, surrounded with the countless stars of the firmament.—O what a magnificent spectacle!

"Adoration be to thee, who issuest from the gold and azure ocean, moving so majestically with the lotus branch in thy hands!—to thee full of devotion, chastity, and gentleness; to thee, who art indefatigable and irreproachable!

"Adoration be to thee, who, through Dud-da-rah and Chum, hast consummated all felicities in thy heavenly kingdom; to thee, the most infallible ruler, who hast put all things under thy feet!

"Adoration be to thee, to whom the exalted spirits Churmusstu and Essruwah and all the angelic hosts offer oblations; to whom all the hosts of the Bohdi, Widdar, Gandarih, and Jaktscha, render praise and thanksgiving!"

All the twenty-one verses are of a similar nature.—I shall now introduce a specimen of their penitential hymns. In that entitled *Zokto Sandan*, particular adoration is paid to each of the thirty-five stages of the apotheoses of Schigimunih in thirty-five verses.

"All the wickedness and injustice of this life, as well as all that I have committed during nnmberless transmigrations in conjunction with my body; all the crimes which, instead of preventing, I connived at and myself perpetrated; when I either destroyed sacred things or abetted the destroyers of them; when I either robbed or assisted robbers; when I either myself violated the ten duties, was a wilful accomplice of transgressors, or seduced others to transgress; in all and every temptation into which I have ever fallen, and by which I have deserved the punishment of hell, a renewed existence in the undesirable regions, in the bodies of brutes, or in false and unbelieving bodies: in all and each of those points in which I unreservedly and without disguise acknowledge myself guilty, I throw myself upon thine omniscience and thy long-suffering. Have I ever during these manifold transmigrations laid a foundation for probity and holiness by the performance of my duties, were it only by refreshing animals with a little food; this shall serve as the commencement of my observance of those duties, and stimulate me not only in the present state, but in all future transmigrations to aspire to holiness of life and perfection—I renounce all sin—I engage to strive with all my power to fulfil my duty as a created being.—I implore the support of the example of all the saints! May these my sincerest wishes be accomplished!"

Translation of one of the Six great Jorŏhl.

These six great litanies of the Lama religion are, as I have already stated, sung every month in the most solemn manner in their temples, and were written down from the lips of Schigimunih by one of his first disciples, named Ananda, and translated from the Indian into the Tibetian language, and from the latter into the Mongol. That which follows is addressed to the Burchan Mansuschiri. It breathes

the Indian spirit, and that love of all living things which so strongly characterizes the professors of that religion.

"O that all created beings, imitating my zeal in good works, may be found perfect in fulfilling their sacred duties!

"May the hosts of all living creatures released in body and mind from all afflictions and infirmities, pursuing my steps, find the ocean of happiness!

"May the whole world never want unalterable felicity; so that all created beings may enjoy unmolested the wished-for repose!

"May all creatures not only in the world, but also in the abysses finally participate the sweets of rest!

"May all that are oppressed by the pain of cold be comforted by warmth!

"May all creatures that are languishing with heat receive refreshment from the cool currents of the sacred cloud!

"May all the birds of the waters fill the atmosphere with the sweetness of their melodies, and from the seas, so full of the fragrant lotus, may the most grateful perfume be diffused through the abysses of the globe!

"May every fire become a sanctuary, and every place laid waste by the flames a bright jewel of the earth!

"May every hill that deforms the fertile plains become an altar and a residence of the hosts of all the saints that have ever existed!

"May hail-storms and all stones that wound the feet of the traveller be henceforth changed into flowers and showers of flowers!

"O that all who carry on war with their destructive weapons, were transformed into merrimakers, sportively throwing flowers at one another!

"May all who are plunged into the depths of the abyss, become, by the performance of good works, spirits of heaven, and flee with swift foot from hell!

"May all who are covered with darkness be illumined with joy and cheerful light, and thus excited to raise their eyes to heaven, to the resplendent Darrah-Ekke, adorned with the sceptre, on her divine seat; and, released from all pain by their joy at this appearance, to continue assembled for a long time to come!

"May showers of flowers with perfumed rain pour upon all the unhappy wretches languishing in the heat of hell, that they may be reanimated and refreshed, to view the holy redeeming-one crowned with the leaves of the lotus!

"Ye who are exposed to such torment, come without delay into my kingdom; remember that from my power deliverance from tribulation and a happy redemption

may be confidently expected. The most merciful of the incarnate gods is filled with affectionate sorrow; resplendent in his glory, he obviates all danger, and before the lotus of his throne the crowns of the most exalted spirits are deposited as offerings.

" Thou whose mercy beams from the tearful eye, on whose head descend copious streams of grace;

" Seated on the two-staged throne, before whom thousand-fold hymns of praise of the sublimest spirits most sweetly resound:—him bear ye in mind!

" May this consideration of Mansuschiri miraculously decrease the number of the inhabitants of hell!

" In like manner may all the unhappy, through uprightness and good works, discover these incomparably refreshing enjoyments and wide-spread streams of perfumes, and thereby obtain obvious relief!

" Bless henceforth all the blind that they may see, and all the deaf that they may hear the voice!

" Bless all the pregnant women, that, like the holy Machäma *, they may be happily delivered!

" Bless all the naked that they may be clothed, and the hungry that they may be satisfied!

" May all who suffer thirst enjoy the refreshment of cooling beverage!

" Bless the necessitous, and let their wants be relieved!

" Bless the mourners, and cheer them with fulness of joy!

" May all the afflicted receive comfort of everlasting duration!

" However great be your number, ye sick, may ye speedily recover!

" May all that lives remain for ever free from the pains of disease!

" Ye who are oppressed with terror, be of good cheer!

" May all prisoners be set at liberty!

" May all the infirm be supported with strength, and all uneasiness of mind be removed!

" Ye wanderers, enjoy permanent prosperity!

" May all who are striving after any thing obtain the accomplishment of their aim; and may those who traverse the seas happily reach the object of their wishes, the safe harbour, to the new joy of their friends!

" May all who have lost themselves in dangerous by-ways meet with persons to

* In Indian, *Maha-Maja*, the mother of Schigimunih.

protect them from robbers and other perils, and to accompany them to the place of their destination!

"When in desert places unavoidable dangers befal young children or aged persons, and they are reduced to the last extremity, may exalted spirits interpose their protection!

"Avoid wasting valuable time, that piety, wisdom, and mercy may be continually encouraged, and in the exercise of mild virtues bear your fellow-creatures constantly in mind.

"May all be blessed by means of celestial treasures with infinite blessings!

"Enjoy happiness without interruption, and may all your wishes be gratified!

"Let small and great be honoured without distinction.

"May all who have been disfigured through indigence and misery be restored to personal beauty!

"May all the women in the world participate in the purpose of their existence! All ye desolators, attain complete greatness, to suppress pride.

"By the performance of meritorious works may all created beings be entirely weaned from bad actions, and as long as they live spend their time in the exercise of beneficence!

"Far removed from criminal thoughts, grounded in holiness and walking in the path of virtue, be ye conquerors of guilty actions!

"May all that breathe enjoy length of life!

"May every one spend his days in happiness, and the voice of death be no more heard!

"May the tree *Gabaraktscha* perpetually blossom like a field enamelled with flowers; and you, ye worshippers, calling upon the saints, be full of flourishing doctrine which shall fill all the regions of the world!

"May the whole earth become a perfectly pure jewel, like a plain formed by the hand of Omnipotence, for him who walketh upon it!

"Ye spirits of heaven, dispense the blessing of rain in due season, that all fruits may prosper!

"Ye kings, govern mildly, like beneficent gods!

"May all medicines operate with full efficacy, and accomplish the hope in which they are taken!

"May all created beings without exception be relieved from distress; and not one soul be annoyed by danger, oppression, and injustice!

" May the priesthood always be productive of blessing, and the aim and conduct of its members be the happiness of all!

" Ye who perform the functions of the priesthood, live continually in holy retirement!

" Walk always so as to give a good example; be of active minds and pious demeanour!

" Ye nuns, fulfil your destination, and avoid discord and enmity!

" By the strength of perfection may the priesthood be supported!

" Priests who live unrighteously, may your minds be disturbed to repentance, that your sins may be blotted out!

" May happy beings every where unite and uphold the state and justice!

" May all the wise be esteemed according to their merit, and gratuitously supported; may the precepts of virtue be obeyed, and tend to everlasting glory!"

CHAPTER XI.

DOMESTIC WORSHIP AND DEVOTIONS OF THE MONGOL TRIBES.

BESIDES the public temples, and the numerous habitations of the priests in the country, which are in every respect the representatives of temples, all the nomadic tribes professing the Lama religion have in each habitation a holy place and altar, and certain sacred utensils for their domestic worship. This place is invariably on the side of their huts opposite to the entrance, and a little to the left as you go in. Wealthy people keep in their spacious and neatly-furnished dwellings large decorated altars and utensils for their service, which are not inferior to those of the temples in value and magnificence. So powerfully are these people influenced by the fear of God and a spirit of religion, that even the poorest Mongol cannot live without an altar or consecrated place in his habitation. However plain, or even mean, these places may be, the owners mark with them the spot where as they conceive the presence of God dwells in their tent. This consecrated place they consider as holy; no person approaches or passes it with indifference, or without lifting up his left hand in the most reverential manner. Early every morning the whole altar and all the articles belonging to it are cleaned with things which are never used for any other purpose, and the seven basins are filled with fresh water. This done, each person prostrates three or nine times before the altar, and at last blesses himself by touching it with his head. At the domestic altars of the Lamas who live dispersed in the country, and those of the opulent, music is daily performed morning and evening, as in the public temples. In the morning a lighted lamp is likewise set upon the altar.

As soon as any visitor, on entering the door, perceives the altar, he never fails to make three prostrations, and it is not till then that he salutes the family and sits down. The Calmucks pray before the altars of the priests only, and not at those in their own houses. Whoever is not too much occupied with business repeats also his creed every morning, addresses the holy mother, or recites other penitential prayers and vows. In general, prayers and religious expressions flow quite naturally from their lips. Not only the clergy, but also the laity, learn the most common prayers, as well in the Tibetian language as in the Mongol text. From their youth they are assisted by their extraordinary memory; children of both sexes apply them-

selves, without compulsion, to the learning of their sacred books and prayers by heart, and are universally disposed to piety and religion. Whoever can read writing and pray, collects and writes down all the domestic forms of prayer. For the rest, they deem it their duty to procure as many religious books as their circumstances permit, which they hold in high veneration; sometimes assembling the superior and inferior clergy to read them in the same manner as in the temples. In every family you find at least one of the cleverest boys destined for the ecclesiastical profession; for they consider it a religious duty to devote at any rate one of their children to the priesthood. Notwithstanding many inconveniences arising from the too great increase of the clergy of this nation, all the measures hitherto pursued for limiting their number have proved fruitless: their piety is so strongly inflamed by the Lamas, that all the preventives adopted by government have produced the very contrary effect, and occasioned commotions among the clergy as well as among the laity. The clerical character is held by them in extraordinary respect; but the study of their real duties is here and there neglected.

Besides the daily exercises of devotion, the Mongols sometimes have a complete domestic service performed by the assembled clergy. On these occasions prayers are offered up for the happiness and prosperity of their family, and they conclude with others soliciting blessings for the whole world. When any individual is sick or indisposed, they have recourse to religion before they call in a physician. At the first commencement of an illness, they have a bath prepared by priests, or, for want of them, by laymen learned in the Scriptures, or even by strangers, in order to purify themselves; for they are convinced that all disease originates in pollution: frequently also they make it themselves. When they have set fire to their incense, they repeat certain Tibetian or Mongol forms of prayer, and imagine that their petitions ascend with the perfumed smoke through the air to God. The patient sits exactly facing the priest, with his hands folded and raised, and his eyes fixed on the ground. After the water has been mixed with some milk, and consecrated by incantations, it is handed to the patient, who must first taste it, and then wash the forehead, the crown of the head, breast, belly, and loins, in a basin. The remaining water, and that which is caught during the operation, is then poured out in a clean place, upon which no person must afterwards tread. The same purificatory ceremony is used by the common people, with whom there is no greater solemnity than the baptism of new-born infants. Similar offerings are frequently repeated through life, both by the high and the low, on all important occasions; and sometimes the whole family takes part in them.—Among the common people you like-

wise meet with many prayer-wheels (*Kürdä*), and each person carries a rosary. When the father, the mother, or any individual in the family feels an impulse to pray, especially during their leisure hours in an evening before they retire to rest, they repeat their *Om-ma-nih-bad-mä-chum* in the most pathetic manner; the rosary and the Kürdä are used on these occasions, and all join in singing away till they are tired in the same tone. This practice is common among all classes, particularly in cases of affliction, disease, and death. Whole volumes of commentaries have been written on the subject of this form of prayer; they consider it as the epitome of their whole religion, and ascribe to it an efficacy through which the spirit of the petitioner may with the firmest confidence in God be pronounced secure from all annoyances both temporal and eternal. Whenever any person, even though it be a layman of their own family, performs the most trifling religious office for them, they never fail to evince their gratitude by a present of greater or less value according to their circumstances. If several join in the devotions, they all contribute to the gift; for it is an express article of their religion never to dismiss an ecclesiastic, a physician, or any one who assists them in distress, without such a present.

CHAPTER XII.

PRIESTS—THEIR VARIOUS CLASSES—THEIR ORDINATION—AUSTERITY OF THEIR MANNERS—THEIR FUNCTIONS—EMPLOYMENTS—CONSIDERATION IN WHICH THEY ARE HELD—THEIR MODE OF LIVING—DRESS.

THE priests of the Lama religion are divided into three classes. Those of the first or lowest class are called Bandi, Schäbi or Chubrak. The Calmucks generally term this class Mandschi. Those of the second class are denominated Götzül; and those belonging to the third or highest class are called Gellong, or, according to the work Aija-Takkimlik, also Archat. These three degrees, each of which is distinguished by a peculiar ordination, and by its secret vows, are held by every perfect priest, whose duty it is to perform all public religious ceremonies; and it is only those of the third degree, or the Gellongs, who receive from the people, when they appear among them once a day, the honour of prostration at their feet; in return for which they impart their benediction to the believers by imposition of hands. Among all the Mongol tribes in the Russian territories, these Gellongs are pretty numerous; because among the multitude of priests of the lower classes there can be no want of persons fit for this state, and because their number cannot be much restricted for the complete ordination, or their functions abridged. The vow of a Gellong is in many respects far too important and rigid for every individual, however eminent for learning and moral virtues, to presume lightly to enter into this state. Each of the three classes of priests has its distinct code drawn up by Schigimunih, which they very seldom show to any person, but from which it appears that the vows of a priest are extremely arduous, and a copy of the rule of the immaculate life of Schigimunih himself, which he left behind to the highest degree of the priests his successors for the guidance of their conduct. The ceremonies used at the ordination of priests are contained in another work, from which I shall extract the most remarkable particulars. After the necessary preparations, it is there said, "the Gellong or Lama shall direct the new candidate to perform the prostration, and then make him kneel down before him on one knee, with his hands folded before his breast, to be examined. He shall then ask him: Art thou free from temptation and doubts in regard to this step? Art thou in earnest? If not, expose not thyself and me to danger; listen to and answer my questions. Dost thou not belong to some strange religion? Hast thou attained the age of

fifteen years? Art thou not some person's vassal? Art thou not in debt? Hast thou the consent of thy father and mother; or art thou too far distant from them to obtain it? Hast thou not some disease? Hast thou not thyself followed the profession of plunder, or been accessary to it in others? Art thou not an hermaphrodite or of equivocal sex? Art thou not a conjuror or magician? Hast thou not murdered thy father or mother? Hast thou not murdered priests, or suffered their blood to be shed? Hast thou not transgressed other laws? Art thou not lame in some of thy limbs? Hast thou not red or yellow hair*? Hast thou permission from thy sovereign, or perhaps not been able to obtain it because thou art a deceiver? Dost thou not carry on some dishonourable trade? Art thou not dumb, or hast thou not a stammering tongue? Art thou not a masculine woman?"

Each of these questions must be conscientiously answered. If the candidate cannot stand the examination, the priest exclaims: "Away with thee!" If he holds it out, the priest says: "Well done! I can admit thee to take the vow." After proving his qualification, the candidate must first prostrate himself before the sacred altar, then to the image of Schigimunih, and lastly to the priest who is to ordain him, and silently praying squat down on one foot. The teacher proceeds: "Knowest thou, who by threefold confirmation choosest the complete order of priesthood, that all participation in the things of the world is but a miserable subjection? Whatsoever and whomsoever thou meetest is full of it; all the pleasure that thou canst taste in the world is but a painful enjoyment: therefore thou must pursue the way of salvation amidst these deplorable evils of life." Both these instructions and the questions and answers continue without intermission in the prescribed order; because they insist on the necessity of an absolute determination in the candidate to devote himself without reserve to a life well-pleasing to God and wholly free from vanity and darkness. The whole of the ceremonial is far too prolix for me to specify every circumstance; I shall therefore confine myself to what is most worthy of notice. At an appointed hour, both master and disciple go out into the open air; here in the sun-shine the shadow of the scholar, who sits engaged in prayer, is accurately traced upon the ground, while he repeats the confessions prescribed by the forms of the examination. To this sketch of the shadow are added some highly mystical astrological figures, which relate to various problems, by the solution of which all the steps and stages to the demonstration of the formula of this ordination are

* Schigimunih, among other prohibitions, expressly forbade persons with red or yellow hair to be admitted into the priesthood.

determined. Meanwhile all the duties enjoined to priests are read to him; and these he, bowing, must repeatedly vow to perform. The three garments composing the priestly costume, and an iron pot (*Baddir*), together with a large perforated iron slice, are placed in due order. The candidate is called, and the officiating priest directs him to squat down on the bare soles of his feet with his hands folded upon his breast, covers the stark-naked disciple with a coat, and cuts off the hair of his head amidst commendations and good wishes. The garments lying by his side are consecrated; their use and destination are explained to the candidate, and he is made thoroughly acquainted with the mode of putting them on and wearing them. The priestly attire, which he puts on next to his bare skin, consists of three garments; a red waistcoat without sleeves, a kind of girdle, and a large curiously-wrought yellow cloth which conveniently covers the whole body. Neither hat, shirt, breeches, boots, or the like, must ever be used; nor may any other article of clothing whatever be worn during the performance of the priestly functions. The iron pot (*Baddir-Aiga*) and the slice are then delivered to him, with a circumstantial explanation of their use and design. These are the only two culinary utensils of a legitimate priest, and were all that Schigimunih retained when he embraced the life of a hermit. The iron pot is nearly in the form of an earthen pot commonly used by the country-people in Russia, which is scarcely half so wide in the mouth as any where else. The bottom is oval, so that it cannot be conveniently set down. The priests indeed are enjoined to hold this *Baddir* continually upon their knees with one hand. In this vessel the alms collected by their disciples are deposited and kept; and at appointed times they likewise eat out of it. It is not lawful for the priests to lay up any store of provisions, and they should subsist entirely upon alms. The perforated iron slice is purposely made so, that the dirt and small insects may be strained from the water and left behind upon it; for which reason they must not take up water with any other utensil.

The genuine priests and hermits moreover make use of an iron staff called *Düldüh* or *Karssel*. This Lama Düldüh, which is likewise considered extremely holy, resembles in many respects a Romish or Greek crosier; it is entirely of iron, of the height of a pilgrim's staff, and pointed at the bottom for the convenience of sticking it into the ground during prayer. The head is ornamented, and at the upper end are four curved handles; round these runs a wire, on which a great number of small iron plates are strung, and serve for bells. From the handles to the bottom it is very frequently adorned with pieces of silk, white *chaddaks* and *kip-chaddaks* of various colours.

The most rigid hermits, as well as all the Gellongs, were formerly obliged to live agreeably to the regulations above mentioned. They were confined to straw, and that laid on a stone floor for their bed. Each had one or more disciples who received alms for him; it was not lawful for them to lay up money or collect property, to wear any finery, to make any outward show, or to indulge themselves with any convenience; they were to go only to such places where they were wanted or to which they were fetched, and their duty enjoined them immediately to apply to some use the presents which were made them for services performed. Even at the present day you here and there meet with priests who observe these rules, and who voluntarily lead the life of hermits, in deserts, among rocks, in natural caverns, or other places of that kind, as many years as they are bound by their vows, in all seasons, without building themselves any other habitations. As long as this recluse life (*Dajahntschi*) continues, they never suffer the hair of the head to be cut till the moment they quit that state and return into human society. The ceremony of ordination among the Mongols is still the same; but they are not all obedient to those regulations; for even these nomadic tribes have their peculiar love of splendour, which they are not at a loss to defend. They say that human reason has at the present day arrived very near to its highest point; this position they prove from their scriptural promises; and add, that the general progress of the world has changed too suddenly, in proportion to the dark ages of antiquity, for us not to expect, previously to the attainment of the highest point, to which it has drawn so near, another change equally sudden, by which all men on the face of the earth will be reduced to a permanent medium, and then all religions in the world will approach a state of harmony.

All the degrees of priests are enjoined celibacy. Their principal personal duties moreover are the six following, which Schigimunih by his own example prescribed them: disinterestedness, toil, patience, constancy in devotion, continence, and wisdom. The priests are obliged to live separate from the laity, in order that they may lead irreproachable lives; and they receive from their disciples all the attendance they require. Each of them, when he awakes, before he goes to sleep, and at stated times of the day, repeats certain prayers for himself and for the welfare of all living beings. For the rest, it is his duty to repair whithersoever he is summoned for the exercise of his spiritual functions. As the priests always study the ancient Indian science of medicine, and are the physicians of their country, they are kept incessantly employed by the people. Whoever requires the assistance of a priest, dispatches a messenger with good saddle-horses for himself and one of his

disciples, by whom he is constantly attended; and victuals and drink must be provided for their refreshment. When the patient is unable to rise from his bed, and pay the customary obeisance, he makes only a slight inclination with his head, at the same time raising his clasped and extended hands. The clerical physician then feels the pulse, inspects the urine, and administers some of the medicines that his disciple invariably brings with him; after which this, like every other service that he renders, is rewarded with a present, be it ever so small. The omission of this practice is deemed a violation of the law of gratitude. On the recovery of a person from a dangerous illness, he expresses his thanks to his physician by valuable presents, gives him a grand entertainment, and considers it his duty to make repeated acknowledgements as long as he lives to his saviour and benefactor. The Lamas behave not only to one another, but also to the laity, with extreme politeness. Among laymen of quality the most respect is always paid to a priest of the highest degree, and in a company of Lamas to him who is of the longest standing in the church. The priests converse together entirely in a higher scriptural dialect, which to those unacquainted with the sacred writings is almost unintelligible. Not only the nobles and persons of princely rank, but likewise all priests, are addressed in the plural, *you**. As, excepting in judicial proceedings, the Mongols never speak standing to persons of quality in their habitations, so both the disciples of the ecclesiastics and the laity must always drop on one knee before a priest when they have any business to transact with him. All victuals and drink set before a Lama, whether at home or abroad, are sprinkled by his disciple with pure water by means of a small stick kept for this purpose at the altar. Before every repast, all the priests present join in saying grace in the Tibetian language. Whenever they drink tea, a little basin destined expressly for that use is filled and placed before the domestic altar; and at every repast of animal food, some pieces are put in from three to five different places on the table, and afterwards eaten by the servants. Similar offerings of food are never omitted, in testimony of gratitude for the bounty of Providence which furnishes daily supplies of nourishment. Both among priests and laity it would be considered highly indecent were a person to eat up all that is set before him, be the quantity ever so small. They therefore not only purposely leave some portion, but during the repast share what they have with those to whom nothing has been served up. The smallest gift is received with

* The common people of both sexes likewise use the plural. To address one another in the singular is deemed rude and a sign of enmity.

gratitude, and no person is denied a part of it, should he merely long to touch it with his tongue. It is deemed a blessing by every individual to be able to give something to his neighbour, and it is always accepted with thanks. He who in such cases is guilty of wilful or even unintentional neglect renders himself liable to the keenest reproaches. After every repast, water is brought to the priests for the purpose of washing their hands. They themselves likewise carry about them a small spherical, curiously-wrought silver or copper vessel (*Dshabro*), provided with a spout and covered with a little bag, containing clean water to rinse their mouths after eating animal food.

The priests are moreover consulted on all other occasions; and as, through constant practice, they are commonly the ablest politicians, the people apply to them in all matters for advice, which they follow with implicit confidence.

As ecclesiastics must live decently and cleanly, their house-associates provide them with apparel and food; and, such as can possibly afford it, with separate utensils also for the latter. Every priest and layman of quality carries in his bosom a drinking bowl, neatly made of some kind of fine wood, well varnished, wrapped in a good handkerchief, and makes use of it both at home and abroad. The disciples of the Lamas take care of these bowls for them, and servants for people of quality; they fill them with meat and drink, and deliver them to their masters, because priests in particular must not take them from the table with their own hands. The clergy abstain from their youth from horse-flesh; strong liquors are likewise forbidden them by the express injunctions of their founder, who says: "Whoever indulges himself in strong drink shall not be called my disciple, and never will I have a debauchee considered as a servant of mine." Schigimunih also inculcates and enjoins chastity, after his own blameless example: but human nature triumphs over the most sacred laws among these people, as well as among every other race of mankind on the face of the globe.

The ordinary dress of the clergy is like that of the commonalty. It is only at high mass and other religious offices that they put on the priestly habit. Next to the skin they wear silk or cotton shirts, and instead of breeches an apron, which comes no lower than the knees, and which, on account of its numerous folds all round, is very wide and roomy. Their upper garment, which reaches down to their heels, is covered on the outside with red or yellow Chinese silks or cotton stuffs, and fastened round the waist with a very broad girdle. Over all they wear a red or yellow silk or cotton scarf, three or four fathoms in length and three spans in breadth, which they throw over the left shoulder and wrap round the body.

When a priest prays before the sacred furniture of the temples and before his domestic altar, he must every time take the two ends of this scarf in his hands, hold it up, and then touch the ground with his head upon the border of it, as a sign that he is a legitimate priest. The Lamas have a right to punish such of their number as are found abroad without this scarf, called *Orkimtschi*. All their garments are deemed sacred by the people; it is not lawful for others to use them, neither will any one ride on the saddle of a priest. If they happen to meet when on horseback a priest of the highest degree, they alight, while at a considerable distance, to salute and pay their obeisance to him, and to receive his blessing by the imposition of hands.

It has already been observed, that all the Lama priests, according to their regulations, ought to live in the simplest manner, upon alms alone, and never to lay up money or other property. They are however no longer subject to this restraint; but if they happen to be reduced to poverty, they avail themselves of the privilege of riding about among the people, attended by some of their disciples, and collecting cattle and other articles in the most arrogant manner, under the pretext that, through unforeseen circumstances, they are suffering want. Among these sympathetic people, each individual contributes according to his circumstances to the relief of his neighbour, and thus in a short time they receive presents to a considerable amount. Many of their poor disciples also, who are of indigent families, go about the country when they begin to be pressed by want. Every one treats them with kindness and compassion, is pleased with their talents for prayer, entertains them as long as is requisite, and takes sincere delight in contributing to the relief of the necessitous. In this manner the needy ecclesiastics collect all kinds of provisions, butter, meat, vegetables, wool, hides, &c. in such profusion that they have a surplus to sell, and can thus procure a fresh stock of cattle.

The other domestic occupations of the priests differ but little from those of the laity: but they are spared as much as possible the necessity of attending to them, that they may employ themselves in the study of the scriptures, in learning long prayers by heart, in copying their religious books, in medicine, in almanack-making, at which they are very expert, in drawing figures, painting pictures, and the like.

CHAPTER XIII.

NUNS—MONKS—AND RELIGIOUS VOWS.

Among the adherents of the Lama religion there has always been a class of nuns besides the ecclesiastics. Every female is fit for this state; nothing more is required than that the individuals who enter into it should without constraint and of their own free-will renounce the carnal gratifications of the world. As these people are actuated by a truly astonishing spirit of piety and religion, there are females enough of every age who voluntarily devote themselves to the state of nuns (*Schabaganza*). On taking this step they are very strictly examined, according to the ancient prescribed religious forms, by the oldest high-priests, from whom they receive their ordination: and some time is always allowed them for further consideration. Never is a maid, wife, or widow, exhorted to embrace this profession; on the contrary, they are dissuaded from it: and yet unmarried females, in the flower of youth, or women of more mature years, determine to enter into this state, that they may be able to lead a life peculiarly acceptable to God. They are then fully consecrated as nuns, suffer their hair to be cut off, lay aside their former dress and ornaments, and submit with the greatest heroism, after the manner of the priests, to the rigid vow to renounce for ever all the enjoyments of the world, and all incontinence; to pray as often as possible, day and night; and to lead a life well-pleasing to the Almighty. Their dress, with the exception of the scarf peculiar to the priestly character, is the same red robe as is worn by the male ecclesiastics. The nuns are by no means shut up in convents, but live as before with their relatives, only with this proviso, that, if they are capable, they shall learn a great number of prayers and religious ceremonies, in which they shall exercise themselves. Neither have they occasion to fast, but are supplied like the priests with all their food. For the rest, they are held in high respect by the people, and have a right to sit next to the priests in the temple, and repeat all prayers with them; but they receive no part of the alms which are there distributed among the ecclesiastics. Those who are incapable of learning the scriptures employ their time in praying with their rosary and Kürdä, and devote themselves to other religious exercises. Thus many of these people, already of excellent moral character, resolve from voluntary inclination to lead a perfectly irreproachable life, and to spend their days in constant exercises of piety; and in particular each individual who possesses any capacity is

desirous of consecrating himself to religion. It is true that the rules respecting such as take these vows are very severe; but whenever they are followed, it is done voluntarily, without any foreign interference or compulsion. When human frailties and transgressions secretly creep in among them, so far from punishing, they show compassion and indulgence, they strive as far as lies in their power to hide the fault of a fellow-creature, and warn and even assist one another to avoid falling again into errors. Upon the whole, these nomadic tribes put many other nations to shame by their tolerant spirit; and it may be most confidently asserted of such as are under independent, native rulers, that fewer deviations from morality occur among them than among nations who call themselves civilized and enlightened. From whatever motive an individual commits a fault or an immoral action, he is pitied by all, because they place themselves in the situation of such a person.

Besides this class of nuns there is a kind of half-nuns who, without quitting the condition of the laity, take certain vows, and are called *Ubaschanza.* Females who have, contrary to expectation, recovered from very dangerous indispositions, or are afflicted with incurable diseases, nay, even new-born infants, are initiated into this vow; and sometimes also it is taken merely out of religious zeal. This vow binds them not only to a godly and virtuous life, but also to the regular celebration of the three appointed monthly prayer-days, after the manner of all the priests and nuns, to the service of the altar, and to constant prayer. On those days they act as priests, and are reverenced as such by the people. At the general meetings the females of this class have the precedence before the common laity, ranking next to the nuns: their food must be clean and pure; they must never eat horse-flesh, and are supplied by every one with provisions of the same quality as the priests. At the examination and consecration for this state, a female neither relinquishes her former habit, nor has her hair cut off: the distinction consists only in a strip of yellow silk or cotton of a hand's breadth, and so long that when thrown over the shoulder, and tied in a bow above the hip, the two ends hang down from the side nearly to the ground. This band (*Orkimtschi*) must be worn by an Ubaschanza across the breast and back, and particularly when she prays; on which occasion she observes the same ceremony as a priest with the ends of his scarf.

In like manner there are half-monks (*Ubascha*); laymen of all ages are consecrated as such; they enter into the same engagements, and are enjoined the same duties, as the Ubaschanzas. They have a right to wear a habit of the same fashion as that of the priests, and, if they obtain permission, of a red colour also. The narrow red band characteristic of their order they wear partly across the breast and

partly over the girdle at the waist. In public meetings they likewise enjoy the precedence before the laity, sitting next to the priests and being waited upon like them. In general they are persons well versed in the scriptures who perform divine service among the people. It not rarely happens that an Ubascha enters into the class of priests, and continues in society with his wife and children, but in other respects lives according to the rules of the clergy. There is however some difficulty attending this, as a public recognition is requisite for the purpose: yet such laymen, if they are eminent for learning, and are generally known to bear a good character, are admitted in their old age, upon urgent request, to officiate as priests.

Among these people there are many other laymen well versed in the scriptures, who can read and write the Mongol and Tibet character, and understand those languages, but have taken no vows. Next to the Lamas they are the most skilful almanack-makers, who interpret the aspects of the stars and heavenly bodies, and all the scriptural signs. These common men of letters are much beloved and respected by the people, who call them *Bakschi**, masters or teachers. They likewise perform many religious exercises for the people, and their domestic altars are in general very complete. Besides these there is in certain parts a class of praying monks, who, agreeably to their vow, must keep continually travelling about, carrying a small prayer-wheel on a staff, visiting every one, and offering up prayers in praise of God, and for the welfare of all ranks and all creatures, both alive and dead. These often have a very squalid appearance, though they are universally well received, fed and lodged. They make no provision for the future, and spend their lives in these exercises, as an example and encouragement to the piety of the people. Such as, according to their vow, are constantly repeating the hymns of praise to the deified Darrah-Ekke, are called *Darkintschi*, and others who are incessantly praying the *Om-ma-nih-bat-mä-chum* are styled *Manitschi*.

In Tibet and Mongolia there are many hermits, who in Mongol are termed *Dajántschi*, and in Tibetian *Eretschuba*. These usually reside, some upon hills, others in caverns. The latter never quit these retreats, subsisting only on roots

* M. Langlés considers this word *Bakschi*, which he writes *Pakschi*, as Tibetian, and takes it for a name (*Alphabet Mantchou*, 3me edit. p. 55). This, however, is a mistake; for *Bakschi* is really Mongol, and signifies, as in Mandschu, *a learned man*. (See *Dictionnaire Mantchou*, vol. i. p. 522.) In Tibet the Mongol *Bakschi* are always termed *Gombo*. The explanation of *Bakschi* given by Pallas, who says that it is a title of honour conferred on learned Gellongs (*Mongol. Völker*. th. ii. 435), is likewise erroneous.

and other raw natural productions, and drinking no other beverage than water. Strangers and passengers never attract the least notice from them; and nothing can disturb them in their prayers and spiritual meditations. They let their hair grow long, and never cut it. Those who dwell upon the hills lead a less austere life, and occasionally make their appearance among other men to procure alms and necessaries. Both these classes of hermits dress like the Lamas, wear red or yellow garments, and never shave their beards.

CHAPTER XIV.

INITIATION OF NEW CONVERTS—AMULETS—PUBLIC RELIGIOUS CEREMONIES—CUSTOMS PRACTISED ON OCCASION OF THE BIRTH OF CHILDREN—OF MARRIAGES—SICKNESS—DEATH—FUNERALS.

According to written records, the ancient deified priests of India did not take under their care such of the people as were desirous of embracing their faith, till after a severe probation. We still find among the Mongol tribes that the professors of the Schaman religion are converted in large companies by the Lamas to that of Buddah. These unbelievers apply to a high-priest, and when their number is large enough a certain time is specified for their assembling. The ceremony is always performed in summer, in an agreeable, retired spot, and in the open air. As it is commonly attended by many Lamas, huts are constructed for them, and arrangements made for a stay of three or four days. All the people of both sexes place themselves in companies on the grass, and take only just sufficient food to prevent them from fainting. All ornaments, ear-rings, head-dresses, and whatever strikes the eye must be laid aside, and each individual appear in his worst apparel. At certain hours of the day the new converts repair singly to the oldest high-priest to be examined and instructed; and the rest of the time till their admission they pray in silence both night and day. As no stranger is allowed to be present, opportunities are yet wanting to procure accurate information on the subject; and if you even enjoy the confidence of these people, you must still be extremely careful not to excite suspicion by too great curiosity: for they deem it a sacred duty to conceal all their transactions. When, therefore, they are disturbed by the coming of any stranger, they disperse, and always betray mistrust of those who wish to be present at their public worship. According to oral accounts which I have sometimes received respecting their secret religious system, there would be much to remark if all the circumstances agreed, or could be duly established: but silence and fidelity to their confessors are invariably deemed one of their highest duties. To give the more weight to their vows, the most innocent remarks are often made a crime. Not only the Lama who administers the vow, but those who instruct them in general religious knowledge, or teach the *alphabet*, that is, *the key to all wisdom and happiness*, are honoured during life, and obeisance is paid to them if they are priests.

They never suffer the real name of their teachers to escape their lips. All their hearers, and even the children of their district, give a very different name to the priests and instructors, or call them merely *master* and *teacher:* nay, they go so far as to assign another appellation to every individual who happens to be of the same name with their teachers, and even to other things in ordinary life, that they may wholly obviate the necessity of pronouncing the names of those sacred characters.

The new converts must likewise set apart in their habitations a particular spot somewhat to the left, facing the entrance, for an altar and holy place, and have it consecrated. They are furnished with the altar and all its appendages, the images of the saints, the books, and such-like things, by their first teacher, and are instructed by him in all domestic religious exercises. In testimony of their having embraced the religion, a written or printed amulet is given them. This is sometimes inclosed in a silver or brass box, or only sewed in a covering of velvet, silk, or leather, and worn during life suspended by a ribband from the neck. They multiply their amulets, the drift of which is various, to a great extent. New ones composed by eminent patriarchs in Tibet and Mongolia are often circulated, and, as a specimen of their contents, I subjoin a translation of one of them:

"After due invitation, Abida, the highest original priest of the region of souls, has most joyfully descended upon my head.

"To this original highest priest and leader, to the openly perfect and glorified, the conqueror of all vanity, made perfect by truth, the inexpressibly glorious conductor of souls on foot, who appeared in like manner, be adoration, thanksgiving, and devotion!

"Grant thy blessing, infallible substance of the triple Inestimable Hero, who bringest deliverance from all the dangers of hell, and holy leader into the mansions of the noblest purity. Abida, I adore thee. Be gracious to me amid all the obstructions and dangers of hell. Ah! accompany me through the dreadful ways full of rocks, and snatch me from the sorrow-bringing waves of adversity!—Ah! accompany me into the most holy mansions of bliss, for never was yet a more desirable abode.

"With thy mercy support me, and let me find and be a partaker of the promised glorious region of souls.

"Grant that every thing may so operate, that I may once in those fields of Paradise, from the heart of the *Lischowa* flower, be a partaker of the new birth, *Manga-lang.*"

In their spiritual exercises the Mongols are unwearied, indeed we might almost say insatiable, and wholly devoted to them. Religious rites are performed sometimes in one place sometimes in another with the greatest solemnity. For these they find abundant directions in the great works of the ancient Indian deified teachers. Each of these writers gives a different method of celebrating religious worship, by the imitation of which the Lamas of the present day contrive to excite and keep up in the people the liveliest interest in regard to these ceremonies. Opulent families cause public religious service to be solemnly held at all seasons of the year, both in joy and sorrow. As the expense of these solemnities, which often last several days, is very heavy, on account of the great number of priests whom they make a point of inviting, a whole race, or all the branches of a family, join to defray the charges. Sometimes they are held on account of temporal prosperity, sometimes on occasion of grievous afflictions, births, and deaths.

A large family of children is considered by the Mongols as a gift of the Deity. When therefore a woman proves barren, numberless superstitious practices with the consecrated water are employed, and they implore of all the celestial beings the accomplishment of their wishes. If a Mongol has children by a wife, he never looks out for any other. During pregnancy various well-meant expedients to procure a favourable time by means of religious ceremonies, are adopted and continued till the delivery. Before or immediately after the birth, the altar is garnished and lighted up with a lamp, and incense burned. The service is more or less solemn, according to circumstances. During the first joy, commonly some days after the birth, the ceremonies are begun. A moving prayer is always pronounced for the child, and a purificatory offering made with incense. To these is added the holy bath, *Thüssel-Arschan*, which is prepared and solemnly consecrated. At the appointed time the child is washed over a basin on all the principal parts of the body, beginning with the head. The prayer used on this occasion relates to the everlasting prevention of all temptations and dangers, and to the duty of taking part in religion. The water remaining in the basin is poured, according to the direction of the priest, either to the south, west, north, or east, under a tree, or on some other clean place, which must never be trodden upon. This done, the child generally receives a spiritual name from the priest; but the heads of families assembled at the ceremony are requested to give him one for ordinary use. One of the oldest fathers of the kindred mentions any name he pleases, with an abundance of figurative good-wishes, in which these people are particularly rich, and in which all the fathers and other persons present concur. The spiritual name of a man is commonly conse-

crated, and never used except on religious occasions, the secular name only being employed in common life. In sickness the old name is sometimes changed for a new one, in order to strengthen the faith of the patient by renewed prosperity.

In marriages, and their consummation, many religious ceremonies are likewise practised: of these, I shall mention only such as are customary on the wedding-day. After the terms of the contract have been concluded by the heads of the families—for in this stage of the business the presence of the bridegroom and bride is not required—a torch is lighted up before the sacred things on the altar in the house of the bride, in confirmation of the assurances given by one party to the other, and both offer up prayers before it. During the preparations for the wedding, the priests are invited to say prayers for the welfare and prosperity of the young couple. A new altar is erected for the bride in her new habitation by the parents of the bridegroom, and furnished with all the necessary sacred appurtenances. On leaving her former home, a particular guardian-sign is given to the bride in the representation of some holy deified person, which is fastened to the end of a long pole, and borne after her, waving over her head to the place where she is given up, even though, as it often happens, the journey thither on horseback lasts several days. During this journey, from the beginning to the end, the priests have numerous prayers to repeat between the great profane ceremonies, and to assure prosperity and happiness to the new couple.

In sickness their religion enjoins a great variety of forms of prayer. In imminent danger they willingly prepare for death, make all necessary arrangements themselves, and have the masses for the dead said for them whilst yet living. A kind of history of the soul's pilgrimage to paradise is commonly read to the patient while still in perfect possession of his faculties; and many likewise desire to hear it when about to embark in any dangerous enterprise. This history not only describes the course of the pilgrimage, but likewise contains exhortations against pusillanimity in pressing dangers, with religious encouragements to vanquish death by the hope of everlasting bliss in paradise. I have seen these people, so distinguished by the warmth of their religious zeal, expire with perfect faith and resignation. Every person present must with a loud voice slowly repeat the form of prayer called *Om-ma-nih-bad-mä-chum*, either with the rosary or the Kürdä wheel. The hut is covered on the top, and the light admitted at apertures on the sides. The nearest relations express their bitter lamentations in the most poetic language and pathetically mournful melodies. They strive, however, to moderate their grief, and exhort one another to bear the inevitable stroke with patience, and to think of the joys which shall succeed their sor-

rows and the believers in the transmigration of souls conceive that an inconsolable weeping for a deceased friend is as unpleasant and as great an impediment to him as floods which obstruct the way; and therefore they forbid grieving after the dead. If, however, their affection is too strong, and their sorrow too great, they seek in their lamentations to give a new direction to their tears, wishing that each of them may prove a medium of purifying their vain attachment, and of procuring increased blessings. During the time of purgatory all the preparations are made for performing the masses for the dead, which last seven weeks, and the funeral rites. The directions for the treatment of the corpse, deduced from astrological rules, are punctually obeyed; for all the dead are not disposed of in the same manner. Some must be burned, others conveyed to the tops of mountains or eminences; some deposited in the earth, and others again in the waters. The guardian spirits are implored in prayer to grant the place for the funeral obsequies, and sometimes to afford protection and security from molestation to the deceased. The corpse is left covered up from the first upon the bed, and is not again touched till the funeral; the hut is then totally cleared, and the high-priest addresses the soul, which till this moment is supposed to have remained near the body, announcing that the period of separation and of its final departure is arrived. It is likewise to be remarked that these people never carry a corpse through the door of the felt-tent by which they go in and out. If they would not remove the whole habitation to another place, they lift up one side of it, and take out the body through the aperture which is thus formed. The dead are thickly enveloped in cotton stuffs, or, if they belong to wealthy families, in silks, and are carried away by oxen or camels, on both sides of which spacious chests are hung by means of saddles. On the top of these chests the corpse is laid upon the bed, and after it has been conveyed to the place of its final destination, and the usual prayers repeated, it is there left. Round the body are sometimes erected a great number of poles with flags, on which the *Om-ma-nih-bad-mä-chum* is a thousand times written in Tibetian characters. When the masses for the dead, which last forty-nine days, are over, the general litanies are recited before all the friends of the deceased, and, lastly, the great blessing is pronounced: this is again repeated on the next public prayer-day in the temple before all the people. To conclude, liberal alms are distributed, according to the circumstances of the family, among the ecclesiastics who perform the masses. The first officiating priest receives, besides other presents, a good saddle-horse and furniture, and the best suit of clothes which belonged to the deceased; and an entertainment is given to the people before they finally disperse.

CHAPTER XV.

DEPARTURE FROM TSCHERKASSK—DANGEROUS BRIDGE OVER THE DON—BATAYSKAJA—THE STEPPE TOWARDS THE MÆOTIS—BOUNDARIES OF THE DON COSSACKS AND THE TSCHERNOMORZES—ENTRANCE INTO THE CAUCASIAN GOVERNMENT—QUARANTINE ON THE STINKING JEGORLYK—RANGE OF HILLS STRETCHING NORTHWARD FROM THE FIRST MOUNTAINS OF THE CAUCASUS—THE REDOUBT OF KALALY—STONE STATUES—PREGRADNOI—BESOPASNOI—DONSKAJA—STONE FIGURES IN THE STEPPE—THEIR ORIGIN—INQUIRIES RESPECTING THE PETSCHENEGES AND KOMANIANS OR POLOWZIANS.

After I had made several little excursions to the Calmucks in the country of the Don Cossacks, I returned to Tscherkassk to rejoin the student whom I had left behind there with my kibitka. On the 19th of November we quitted that town, where all our acquaintance, and particularly the teachers in the Gymnasium, had endeavoured to make our stay as agreeable to us as possible. The road at first led along the right bank of the Don, for about a werst and a half above the town, where a chain-bridge is thrown across the river. Here we had nearly been so unfortunate as to lose one of our carriages; for the timbers, which were but slightly chained together, gave way, and the hind-wheels of the chaise sunk up to the axle in water. It was not without great difficulty that we extricated the kibitka, nor was it till every thing was unpacked, and we had given up the vehicle for lost, that we succeeded in our endeavours. After this unpleasant adventure, in which both the Cossacks (who drove us) and ourselves got pretty wet and benumbed with cold, we pursued our route to Batayskaja, the first station, which is 17½ wersts from Tscherkassk, and is seated on a dry arm of the Don called Podpolnaja, that is, *the half full*. The road thither led through an extensive plain, that like the island on which Tscherkassk stands is annually inundated, but the water runs from it earlier because it lies higher and slopes towards the principal stream.

From Batayskaja we had 16 wersts to go to the station of Kagalnitzkaja on the little river Kagalnik, which falls near a village of the same name below Asow into the Mæotis, after it has received the Jelbusda, a brook which comes from the south, and been considerably increased by this accession. On every side we saw ditches leading to the Kagalnik, and which, though now dry, are said to be pretty well

filled in spring by the snow water from the steppe. The country is extremely level excepting in the south-east, where we perceived some eminences belonging to a chain of hills which runs due north from the middle of the Ckuban to the source of the Kagalnik, and which we hailed as the precursor of the Caucasus. At the distance of 16 wersts we passed Chomutezkaja, formerly a station, but now occupied only by a few Cossacks, who keep guard there, and proceeded twelve miles further, without stopping, to Metschetnaja, an inn seated on a rivulet of the same name, whither the horses were brought from the Cossack post, a werst and a half distant. This place derives its name from an old decayed *Messdshed*, which lies 35 wersts from it on the river Manytsch, and by which the road to Tscherkassk formerly led. As the horses had not yet been fed, I made meanwhile a little excursion to the source of the two rivulets Roswosch and Bobrowaja, which rise about ten miles to the south-west, and after a course of six German miles unite with the Jelbusda. I found them in a clayey sand-bed, very small, and with so imperceptible a current that a piece of paper thrown upon the surface in perfectly calm weather moved scarcely two feet in a quarter of an hour. This circumstance, which is observable in several small rivers that run towards the sea of Asow, proves how imperceptibly the steppe falls to the west. Here at the depth of about three yards below the surface of the steppe are found fragments of lime-stone composed of conglomerated muscles.

It was not till after dark that we could get away from the inn of Metschetsk; but the horses of the Cossacks who were to attend us as guides, were so weary that at eleven o'clock we had proceeded only ten wersts to the dale of the Kögülta, near which rivulet we were under the necessity of passing the night. A Calmuck *kibitke* (felt-tent), which I had purchased of the Don Calmucks, here rendered us excellent service, and the provisions which we had brought with us from Tscherkassk also proved very acceptable; but two small barrels of Don wine were completely frozen, so that we could not use it except for mulling. Here was formerly a Cossack station, but it is now converted into a mere guard-post. After the horses were sufficiently rested, we set out early in the morning, and at the distance of 13 wersts reached the station of Nishnoi Jegorlyzkaja, situated to the north of the two rivulets which form the Kugoi-Jeja or the *rushy* Jei. Fourteen wersts further, we came to an inn on the second rivulet, which, as well as the continuation of both, the rushy Jei, forms the boundary between the Don and Tschernomorzian Cossacks as far as the *Stanitza* Jekaterinodarskaja: at this place the above stream discharges itself into the right side of the great Jei, which then runs due

west into the sea of Asow, and continues to divide the two territories. At the inn we reached the chain of hills already mentioned, which stretches northward from the Kuban for a degree and a half of latitude, and separates the fluvial system of the west side of the Maeotis from that of the Jegorlyk. Hence it is but 13 wersts to the station of Wonutschoi Jegorlyzkaja, likewise called Sacrednaja Jegorlyzkaja, of the *stinking* or *middle Jegorlyk*, on the right bank of which it is seated. This river, which forms the boundary between the Caucasian government and the Don Cossacks, has its rise from several small brooks about 15 wersts south-west of this place, on the east side of the above-mentioned chain of hills, and, after taking first an eastern and then a north-eastern course of about 13 German miles, falls into the Manytsch. A bridge, shut up on account of the quarantine, led across the Jegorlyk, and we were requested by the assistant-surgeon stationed there not to go far from our carriages till our departure from this place, though there was now nothing to be apprehended from the plague. It is incomprehensible how the quarantine could be established in a place which has so unhealthy a situation and scarcely any water fit to drink, as the first post-house 17½ wersts from Tscherkassk, on the Podpolnaja, is so much better adapted for the purpose, since provisions at least might there be procured from the town, whereas they cannot be conveyed without great expense to Wonutschnoi Jegorlyzkaja.

At the distance of 34 wersts from the quarantine lies the first station in the Caucasian government, which is a redoubt named Peschtschatnaja Kopani. The road thither leads through a very level steppe, and beyond it, in the dry bed of a stream which communicates with that of the Rassypnaja, you come to wells which have been dug there, but contain bad water, and from which the redoubt has received its name: for Peschtschatnoi Kopani signifies *sand-wells*. Another road runs hence to the north-east, across the middle Jegorlyk to the Manytsch and the country of the Don Cossacks; but it is at present little used, and scarcely ever travelled except by Tartars and Calmucks, because it is almost entirely destitute of water, for that of the rivers in these steppes is not drinkable.—Eleven wersts from the sand-wells lies the redoubt of Rasszypnoi, on the brook of the like name, which rises to the south-west of that place, beyond the village of Ilinskoi, on the chain of hills in the steppe, and whose sources are only ten wersts distant from those of the great Jei in the country called by the Tartars the Jei Ckarassun. In the middle of the following stage, which is 24 wersts, we had the redoubt of Letnizkoi on the left bank of the upper or great Jegorlyk, along which we continued our course to the redoubt of Wesstislawskoi, also called Kalaly from the rivulet on which it

lies. Here I met with one of those stone figures which are frequently found standing upright in this steppe, but it had suffered so much from the weather as to be quite defaced. The Kalaly is one of the principal branches of the Jegorlyk, and is formed by the conflux of several brooks, all of which rise in the chain of hills northward of the Ckuban. It unites below the redoubt with the Jegorlyk, which has here already become a considerable river. Thirty wersts above it on the Kalaly lies the village of Dimitriewsk, whence the high barrow called Shirnoi Kurgan, that is, the *fat hill*, to the south-west near Archangelskoi is about as far distant. This hill is seen at a very great distance in the steppe, and serves as a land-mark to those travellers who do not keep the high road.

Our road still continued along the left side of the Jegorlyk to the station of Pregradnoi, 30 wersts from Kalaly. Midway between those two places lies the redoubt of Medwesche Kurganskoi, that is, situated on the Bear's hill. Here was formerly a rivulet which fell into the Jegorlyk, but is now dried up; and was called in Tartar Ajule, or the Bear's brook. From Pregradnoi we had 23 wersts to the redoubt of Besopasnoi, which lies on the other side of the Jegorlyk, not far above the influx of the Taschle. Half way thither on the right is a lake about a German mile in length, but very narrow, which seems to have arisen from what was once a river, and two wersts before you cross the Jegorlyk is a broken stone statue. Midway between Besopasnoi and Donskaja, a stage of 20 wersts, we found at some distance apart the two statues which Güldenstädt has described, and one of which represents a man, the other a woman. These rude figures, many of which are wrought but on one side, and there in general only from the head to the knees, being quite flat behind, are very frequent in this part of the country. They nearly resemble our statues in old gardens representing fauns and satyrs, but are hewn with much less skill out of a grayish lime-stone composed of conglomerated muscles, and have pure Mongol features. They are commonly represented sitting, and the male figures seemed to be clothed in a cuirass and a narrow garment that reaches to the knees. Those of the other sex have bare pendent breasts, and a much shorter garment, or even the thighs uncovered. They are distinguished by a broad ornament round the neck, and over that a coral necklace. Their head-dress is singular, consisting of two articles of the same kind placed one upon another; whereas the men have small pointed hats like those of the Chinese and a long plaited tail hanging down behind. All the figures without exception hold before the privities a long drinking-vessel, but which often looks only like an oblong square.

Stone statues of this kind are frequently met with in the western part of the steppe to the north of the Caucasus, near the rivers Kuma, Bywala, Taschle, Dongusle, Jei, Tschalbass, Jegorlyk, and Manytsch, and in great numbers between the Don, Donez, and Dnjepr: nay, I myself procured a similar figure of silver, of the length of a finger, which had been found by the peasants on the Kuma, but with this difference, that the hands were not held before the abdomen, for it had no arms at all. These statues bear the stamp of high antiquity, and it would seem that they existed so early as the time of Ammianus Marcellinus, who in his description of the Huns says: "They are of an extraordinary figure, and so crooked that they might be taken for beasts walking on two legs, or for such rudely wrought pillars in human form as are to be seen on the shores of the Pontus."—From their Mongol features they might therefore reasonably be conjectured to be of Hunnish origin; at least it appears certain that we cannot ascribe them to the Komanians, with Ruysbroeck (commonly called Rubruquis) the Minorite, who was sent in 1253 as ambassador from Louis IX of France to Mangu Chan, and who in the tenth chapter of his extremely interesting Travels says: "The Comanians throw up a high hill over their dead, and place upon it the figure of the deceased with the face turned toward the east, and holding a drinking-vessel in their hands before the navel. Upon the graves of the rich they likewise erect pyramids; that is, small pointed buildings: in some places I have also seen lofty towers of brick, in others pyramids of hewn stone, though the latter is not to be found in any part of the country. Among others again I observed a tomb recently built, around which were hung upon high poles sixteen horse-hides, four towards each of the cardinal points. Near this grave had been put *cosmos* for drink and flesh to eat. Nevertheless I was informed that the deceased had been baptized. Further eastward I found other kinds of sepulchral monuments, namely large stone pavements partly circular and partly square, with four great stones set upright at the corners towards the four cardinal points."

From this account it is evident that the honest monk confounded the monuments of the different nations by which these parts had been and then were inhabited, as he took them all for Komanian because he found them in the country of the Komanians. This remarkable nation acts an important part in the history of the middle ages, for which reason I presume that some inquiries respecting its origin will not be misplaced here, especially as particular regard has been paid to the subject in my *Instructions*, where so much of their history as occurs in the Russian Chronicles is introduced by way of Supplement.

The Kumanians are the same nation as the Polowzians of the Russian and the Polowczy of the Polish historians, and, as we shall presently see, of Tartar origin; for Nikon observes: "The Chwalisses and Bolgarians are descended from Lot's two daughters; but four other nations, the Torkmeni, Petschenesi, Tortozy, and Kumani, more properly Polowtzy, derive their origin from Ishmael: and another writer quoted by Schlözer in his History of Transylvania says: *Cumani, id est Polowtzi, ex deserto egressi.* The identity of these two names, however, is best proved by the fact that the Russian historians refer to the Polowtzians the same circumstance as the Byzantine authors relate of the Komanians. The transaction is as follows:—A man of low birth, who had been banished from Greece to Cherson, there formed an acquaintance with the Komanians who resorted to that place for the purpose of traffic and to purchase provisions, and persuaded them that he was the son of the emperor Diogenes. They released him in consequence from confinement; and having, in hopes of a liberal reward, determined to seat him on the throne, they marched in 1096 towards the Danube. By the direction of the emperor Alexius, it was decided by a kind of oracle in the great church, that he should not await the Komanians, but go out to meet them. They were already on the left bank of the Danube, and the Wlachians had shown them the way through the narrow passes. They took by treachery the town of Goloe, upon which they proclaimed the false Diogenes emperor. They were unable to reduce Anchilaus on the Pontus, where the emperor himself was posted; and therefore proceeded to Adrianople, where the pseudo-Diogenes pretended to have a secret correspondence. Meanwhile Alakaseus enticed the impostor by a stratagem into the castle of Peutze, where he was made intoxicated, secured, and sent to Constantinople. There his eyes were put out by a Turkish eunuch. The emperor Alexius soon afterwards defeated the Komanians in an engagement near Taurokomum, and cleared the country of them."—With this account the Russian annals agree; for Nestor under the year 1095 states: "The Polowtzi marched against the Greeks with Dewgenewitsch (Diogenes' son); but the Tzar (emperor) took Dewgenewitsch prisoner, and put out his eyes."

This alone is a sufficient proof that the Polowzians are the Komani of the Byzantines. As to their origin, the passage of Nikon already quoted shows that they were Tartars, as he asserts them to have been akin to the Turkmenes and Turks: but we have a still stronger evidence of this affinity in their language. So early as 1086 Komanians had migrated into Hungary; a still greater number fled thither from Dshingis Chan, and continued their predatory roving life till at length in 1410 they

embraced the Christian religion. From them Great and Little Kumania in Upper and Lower Hungary derive their name: here they still reside to the number of about 112,000 free persons; but they have already adopted the Hungarian language, and totally forgotten their own. The last who had any knowledge of it was named Varro; he was an inhabitant of Karczag, and died about the year 1770. Some of these Kumanians are likewise called Jaszog, which in Hungarian signifies *archers*, because they served in the van as light troops, and must therefore not be confounded with the Sarmatian Jasyges. Though the Komanian language is extinct in Hungary, yet some copies of the Lord's Prayer in it have been preserved, and incontestably prove it to have been Tartar, both in regard to the words and the grammatical construction.

According to Anna Comnena, the Patzinakes (Petscheneges) spoke the same language as the Komanians—(προς εισι Κομανους ὡς ὁμογλοττους): their language therefore gives us that of the Petscheneges. That these were likewise Tartars may be inferred from their very name *Petscheneg*, which has been retained by the Siberian Tartars: for when Jermak, the re-discoverer of Siberia, in 1583 attacked the Tartars on the Tawda, and they had assembled in the neighbourhood of the rivulet Patschenka, a sanguinary engagement took place there, in which the Cossacks gained a complete victory, and cut in pieces all the Tartars: a prince named Petscheneg was in the number of the slain.

Another not unimportant piece of information respecting the Petscheneges is communicated by the Arabian geographer Scherif Edrissi, who expressly says that they were of Turkish descent. The passage is as follows:—"In the seventh part of the seventh climate are the other districts of the country of Bassdshirt, the northern part of the *Stinking Country*, and the greatest part of the country of Bedschenâg. To the outer Bassdshirt belong the two towns of Massirah and Ckasairah, which are seldom visited by traders; for none will venture to travel thither, because the inhabitants put to death all strangers who come among them. The above-mentioned towns are situated on a river which discharges itself into the river Athel (the Wolga). The country of Bedschenâg is not extensive, and we know not whether these people have any larger town than Banamuni. It contains, however, many inhabitants of the race of the Turks (*Atrak*). They carry on war with the Russians, and on the frontiers of the Greeks, because they are defended by the mountains."

George Pachymeres further relates that "in the time of the emperor Michael Paleologus a Komanian was sultan of the Ethiopians (Egyptians); he had been

sold as a slave, and at length became sovereign of the country. In 1261 he concluded a treaty of commerce with the Greek emperor, by which he was allowed a free passage through the Dardanelles into the Black Sea, in order to purchase there Scythian slaves for military service."—According to the account of Nicephorus, one or two transports went annually from Egypt to the European Scythians on the Palus Mæotis and the Tanais, to fetch partly volunteers and partly men purchased of their masters, by which means the Scythian troops in Alexandria and Babylon were kept complete. This Komanian sultan, who concluded the treaty with the Greeks, was most undoubtedly Bibars I., who reigned about this period, and who, according to Abulmassassen (on the authority of de Guignes), was a native of Ckapdschack, and whose name in the Mongol, that is the Old Tartar language, is said to signify *Prince*. This, however, is a mistake: the word *Bibars* or *Biberdi* is Tartar, and signifies *given by the Lord*; derived from *By* or *Beg*, Lord, and *beramen*, I give. This translation of Biberdi occurs in Jehoshaphat Barbâro, who visited Tana (Asow?) in 1436, and gave a description of the adjacent countries, where he says: "Going from Tana (westward) along the shore of the sea (Mæotis), you come to a country called Kremuk, whose sovereign bears the title of Biberdi, that is *Deo dato* (given by God)."

The last testimony respecting the Tartar-Turkish origin of the Komanians and their language shall be that of Ruysbroeck (1253), who in the 28th chapter of his Travels, speaking of the Jugures, gives this important notice: "Among the Jugures is the origin and stock of the Turkish and Komanian language."

The Komani (Polowzians) and Petscheneges formed the people of the Ckapdschack; and Ruysbroeck says of the former, that they gave themselves the name of Kapschat, and in another place he calls them Coman-Capschat. According to Abulghasi Bahadur Chan, the Ckapdschack are a Tartar nation whose fabulous origin he relates as follows:—

"Hereupon Ogus Chan marched beyond Chathai, and made war upon the people dwelling there between the mountains and the sea-coast. Their chan was named It-Burâk, and was too powerful for Ogus Chan; wherefore the latter was obliged to draw back between two streams. There he assembled all his people; and as it was customary for the chan, as well as the principal men, to carry their wives with them to war, they were then accompanied by the latter. One of the chief officers of his army had been killed in battle, leaving his wife pregnant; and she, unable to find a convenient place for her delivery, concealed herself in a hollow tree, where she brought forth a boy. Ogus Chan being informed of the circum-

stance, took the child under his care, and had it brought up as his own, because the father had lost his life in his service. He gave him the surname of Ckibdschack, which in the old Turkish language signifies *a rotten tree*, in order to perpetuate the remembrance of the place of his birth. When this boy attained to manhood, he made him commander of a considerable portion of his troops, and ordered him to make war upon the Urus, Wlack, Madshar, and Baschkir nations, who inhabited the countries bordering on the great rivers Tin (Don) and Idel (Wolga). Ckibdschack assembled and reviewed his army in an extensive plain; on which he marched against the above-mentioned nations, and subdued them; and he and his posterity ruled there 300 years. All the Ckibdschack are descended and derive their name from him; and from the time of Ogus Chan to Dshingis Chan, a space of 400 years*, no other people have dwelt in the countries between the rivers Tin (Don), Idel (Wolga), and Jaick, than the posterity and subjects of Ckibdschack: for this reason the whole plain in which they lived has received the name of Däscht Ckibdschack, or the steppe of Ckibdschack, which it still retains."

Ruysbroeck has likewise placed the abode of the Coman-Capschat in this country. "The Tanais," says he, "disembogues itself into the Palus Mæotis, but the Etilia (Wolga) into the great lake which it forms in conjunction with several other rivers that take their course thither from Persia. To the south we had the very lofty mountains inhabited by the Cergis (Tscherkessians) and the Alani or Acas, who are Christians, and still at war with the Tartars. Beyond them, towards this great lake or sea (the Caspian), are the Saracens, who are called Lesgians, and who are in subjection to the Tartars; then comes the *iron gate* (Derbend) constructed by the command of Alexander the Great, to prevent the incursions of the barbarians into Persia; of which I shall speak in the sequel, because I passed through it on my return. The whole country between these two rivers (Don and Wolga), through which we travelled, was formerly inhabited by Comanians, before the Tartars made themselves masters of it."

The Petscheneges (Πατζινακοι, Πετζινακοι, Πατζινακιται) resided, according to the Byzantines, on the rivers Atil (Wolga) and Geich (Jaick), whence however they were driven about the year 894 or 899 by the allied Uses and Chasares. A few only of the Petscheneges voluntarily remained with the Uses, and were soon lost among their conquerors, from whom however they might be distinguished by a

* Both the French translation of Abulghasi and Messerschmidt's German version have 4000 years; but in the original it is only 400, which is more consonant with historical truth.

peculiar dress. The other Petscheneges, who crossed the Don, expelled the Hungarians, the greatest part of whom fled to Atelkusu, the modern Moldavia and Transylvania. Hither they were, however, followed and driven westward by the Petscheneges. From that period (A.D. 900) these people were masters of the whole coast of the Black Sea, from the Don to the Danube, and to the east of them dwelt the Komani, who spoke the same language.

Constantine Porphyrogenneta says, "The Kankar, who are likewise called Patzinacitæ," &c.: and in another place; "The Patzinacitæ, who were formerly (894) called Kangar, (for in their own language this name Kangar signifies valour and bravery,) had taken up arms against the Chasares, but being conquered by them were compelled to quit their country, and fix their abode in that of the Turks (Hungary). But a war having arisen between these Turks and the Patzinacitæ, who were then denominated Kangar, the army of the Turks (Hungarians) was defeated and divided into two parts," &c. Thus it is evident that the Petscheneges were likewise named Kangar, and partly dwelt near the Black Sea, and had partly remained among the Uses between the Wolga and the Jaick. That this latter portion of the nation there recovered its strength we learn from Ruysbroeck (1253), who, under the conduct of a Moal (Mogol) of quality, travelled from the camp of Batu Chan, on the east side of the Wolga, through the country of the Kangle, who were descended from the Komanians. On the left, to the north, he had Great Bulgaria, and to the right, due south, the Caspian Sea. John de Plano Carpini, who was sent by Pope Innocent IV to Tartary in 1245, a short time before Ruysbroeck, expresses himself with still greater precision: "The country of the Komanians," says he, "has in a due northern direction beyond the Russians, the Morduini and Byleri, that is, Great Bulgaria; the country of the Bastarki, which is Great Hungary; and then the Parositi Samoedi, who are reported to have dogs' faces, and to inhabit the dreary coasts of the ocean. To the south are the Alani, the Tschirkassians, the Gasares, Greece, Constantinople, the country of the Hiberians (Georgia), the Katii Burtaki, who are accounted Jews, and who have the whole head shorn. To the west are Hungary and Russia. Komania is large and extensive, and its inhabitants were mostly exterminated by the Tartars; others fled, and part of them remained behind in slavery among the conquerors. Even many of those who had fled returned, and submitted to their yoke. We then came to the country of the Kangites, which, on account of the frequent want of water, is but thinly inhabited," &c.

The Komanians and Petscheneges were then in reality one nation, only the latter

appeared in Europe a century earlier (A.D. 894) than the former, and bore the family name of Kangly, which, according to Abulghasi, they received from the rattling of the wheels (*Kanck*) of carriages, of which they are said to have been the inventors. After Tuschi Chan, a son of Dshingis, had in 1223 penetrated into the Ckabdshack, a period was put to the power of both nations, and they were driven partly to Hungary and partly to the north of the Caspian Sea. Others, both Komanians and Kangli, remained in the Ckabdshack under the dominion of the successors of Dshingis Chan: these intermingled and formed the nation of the Nogays, thus called from their leader Noga, many hordes of which bear the name of Kangli. Hence it was possible enough that the Russian conquerors might find Nogays in Siberia, while others resided near the Krym. Among the hordes of Nogays there is still one that has retained the appellation of Ckipdshack, and depastures on the Upper Kuma, from which river the name of Kumanians seems to be derived; though on this subject that nation itself was totally ignorant. The Persian historians likewise call the country about it Kumestan; and the Arabian writer Sherif Edrissi, (about the conclusion of the eleventh century,) Al Ckomania, and he adds, "which gives name to the Ckomanians."

Before the invasion of the successors of Dshingis Chan, the Komanians resided in and to the north of the Krym, as we find, among other authorities, from the Travels of Ruysbroeck. As this writer proceeded northward over the mountains of the peninsula, he describes its northern plain, and adds; "This whole level was, previously to the irruption of the Tartars, inhabited by the Comanians, and all the abovementioned cities, towns, and villages were tributary to them. But on the incursion of the Tartars (the successors of Dshingis Chan) a very great multitude of Comanians inundated the country, and fled to the sea-shore. So dreadful a famine, however, broke out among them, that the living were under the necessity of feeding upon the dead, as a merchant assured me, who had been an eye-witness of the fact. We pursued our course with our right to the east; and when we had at length left the country of Gasaria (the Krym), we still had the sea to the south, and on the north vast deserts, which are in many places twenty days' journey in length, and in which you find nothing but forests, mountains, and stones. The grass here afforded excellent pasturage, and here the Comani dwelt and kept their herds. They call themselves Capschat. The whole country in its greatest breadth, from the Danube to the Tanais, which divides Asia from Europe, is more than two months' journey across for such swift riders as the Tartars usually are, and is entirely inhabited by Comanians, who extend even beyond the Tanais to the Edil (Wolga), a tract of ten long

days' journey between the two rivers. We continued our route eastward, and saw by the way nothing but the earth and sky, and occasionally the sea on our right hand, which is called the sea of Tanais (Tana); here and there also sepulchral monuments of the Comanians, which we could recognise at the distance of two miles, for the burial-places of a whole family or kindred are always on the same spot."

In the manuscript atlas also of Peter Vesconte d'Janua, of the year 1318, preserved in the Imperial library at Vienna, and in other later maps of the same century, we find on the north side of the sea of Asow, nearly on the spot occupied by the lake now called by the Russians Molotschnoi Osero, the name of Comaina or Chumania; and there, about forty years since, the Nogay hordes Kabil-Kangli-Argakli and Shuchan-Kangli depastured.

All this, in my opinion, fully proves that the Komanians or Ckibdschack, and the Petscheneges or Kangli, belonged to one stock, spoke the same Tartar dialect, and were re-united into one nation, denominated Nogay. An historical difficulty nevertheless presents itself: it is this; that very few of the Polowzian names which occur in the Russian chronicles (from 1094 to 1223) are to be found among the Nogay Tartars, but many among the Tscherkessians*, as well in the Kabardah as also beyond the Ckuban. It is therefore most probable that the Kumanians were at that time subjects of the Tscherkessians, and under their direction. All the Polowzian names that have been transmitted to us belong, moreover, to princes, whilst none of those of common persons have been preserved. To this must be added, that it seems as if the Polowzian or Komanian princesses had been remarkable for beauty, for several grand-princes of Russia, and even the Hungarian monarch Stephen V, sought them in marriage. This would not probably have been so often the case with Nogay beauties, who could not have appeared particularly fascinating to Europeans. When we further consider that at this period the numerous nation of the Tscherkessians was certainly established in the Krym and on the Caucasus, it must seem truly extraordinary that no historian makes mention of them, and highly probable that they were disguised in some way or other among the Polowzians and Petscheneges. That about the year 1312 they inhabited the country contiguous to the Comanians, to the north of the Krym, under the appellation of Cabari (Kabardines, Tscherkessians),

* Güldenstädt indeed asserts that he met with the Komanian names Itlar, Kiran, Urussoba, Katschin, Janslanop, Kunem, Kurtok, Tschenegrep, Surbar, and Waldusa among the Ossetes; but this is a mistake, for none of the many Ossetes to whom I applied for information on this subject was acquainted with them. Perhaps this error is not chargeable to Güldenstädt, but to the editor of his work.

we know from the abovementioned manuscript maps in the library of Vienna, in which the name is placed a little to the east of that of the Komanians, near the spot where Taganrog now stands. A tradition also is still preserved among the Tscherkessians, that they were formerly masters of the Nogays.

Till therefore some fortunate accident shall throw further light on this subject, we are in my opinion authorized to assume, that the Komanians of the Greeks, and the Polowzians of the Slavonian chroniclers, were Ckabdshack Tartars, who were under the supreme authority of Tscherkessian princes.

CHAPTER XVI.

DONSKAJA—FIRST MOUNTAINS OF THE CAUCASUS—MOSKOWSKAJA—STAWROPOL—TARTAR HORDES, REMAINS OF THE NOGAY TARTARS—DISEASE PECULIAR TO THEM—OF THE NOGAYS IN GENERAL—THEIR WAY OF LIVING AND RELIGION—SITUATION OF THE CIRCLE OF STAWROPOL—NADESHDA—POKROWSKOI—BESCHPAGHIR—NOWO GRIGORIEWSKAJA—SSEWERNOI—RANGE OF SAND-STONE HILLS, A BRANCH OF THE ELBRUS—ALEXANDROW—SSABLJA—ALEXANDRIA—ARRIVAL AT GEORGIEWSK.

Donskaja, a fortress on the brook Taschle, is more considerable than any of the preceding places, and is inhabited by Cossacks and peasants. Here we passed the night; and next morning, when the weather had cleared up, we perceived the first ranges of the Caucasus; but they were so near us as to conceal the principal mountains, which in serene weather may be seen at a great distance, namely, from Tscherkassk on the Don, at the distance of 60 German miles in a straight line, and from Ssarepta on the Wolga, not less than 70 miles. It is 18 wersts from Donskaja to Moskowskaja; the road leading along the left side of the Taschle, on the right of which is a high rocky shore, that has given name to it, for *Tasch* in the Tartar signifies *stone*. Here commence the projecting eminences of the first range of mountains, known by the name of Temno Les, or the *dark forest*, in Tartar, Scheb Ckaragatsch (corrupted by the Tscherkessians into Schet Karagatsch,) lying from west to east between the western bend of the Ckuban at the redoubt of Nedremankoi and the source of the Kalâus, and covered with thick woods. Moskowskaja is superior to an ordinary redoubt, and bears the prouder title of *Krepost*, or fortress: but for this kind of Cossack fortress little more is requisite than a ditch three feet deep, and a rampart of the like height, the avenues to which are defended by barricadoes and chevaux de frise, and having small iron or brass cannon planted at the four corners. The fortress, as it is styled, is situated on an eminence, and the considerable Cossack *stanitza* not far from it, somewhat lower, on a rivulet which joins the Taschle. The country here begins to rise, and to the west in particular are seen several rocky hills, which gradually slope towards the high-road to the left of the Taschle. On that river, not far from Moskowskaja, to the east, are the large villages of Palagiada and Michailowskoi, the inhabitants of which are employed in agriculture, and carry on a considerable trade with the neighbouring Tartars.

Proceeding 31½ wersts further, we arrived about noon on the 22d of November at the town of Stawropol, a considerable place for the Caucasian government, seated on an eminence at the source of the rivulet Atschile, (in Tartar, *limpid, clear,*) which runs to the north-east, and at the distance of about 55 wersts discharges itself into the left side of the Kalâuss. Stawropol was formerly but a strongly garrisoned fortress belonging to the Caucasian line, but in 1785 it was raised to the rank of a city. It is populous, has spacious streets, and a large market-house where all sorts of commodities may be procured. Here a market is held twice a week, and attended by the peasants of the whole adjacent country. The soil is very fruitful, and the neighbouring woods and copses abound in game, which is frequently shot by the inhabitants and offered for sale. We bought wild boars' flesh at the rate of three copper copecks a pound, and partridges at fifteen copecks a brace. Provisions in general are very cheap here, and the neighbouring Atschile yields perch (in Russian *Okun*, in Tartar *Alabughah*) and carp (in Russian and Tartar *Saasan*) of excellent flavour. Besides the Cossacks there is in this town and its environs a fine regiment of dragoons, then commanded by General Puschkin, whose head-quarters are at Stawropol. The town is governed by a burgomaster, (*Gorodnitschi,*) who is likewise charged with the levying of recruits from the adjacent country. Though it was so near the end of November, we had not much reason to complain of cold, by which we were also less incommoded in the level *steppe* than by the piercing north and east wind.

In the country between Stawropol, the Ckuban and the Upper Kuma, as well as about the sources of the rivulets Dongusle and Buywalla, which discharge themselves into the latter, rove the Tartar hordes of the Kasbulat, Kiptschak, Mangut, Jedissan, Dshambulat, Jedikul and Nawrus, amounting together to 5849 kibitkes or felt-tents. These are the small remains of the once celebrated Nogays or Ckuban Tartars, who were transplanted by the Chans of the Krym to the steppe between the Dnepr and Dnestr, but afterwards removed back by the Russians to their former pastures beyond the Ckuban. The continual disturbances excited by them, and the depredations which they committed, obliged the government in 1788 to reduce them to obedience; on which occasion the greatest part of them fled beyond the Ckuban, and the whole nation was well nigh exterminated.

The eastern part of the Caucasian steppe between the Kuma and the Caspian Sea is partly inhabited by families of the Nogay hordes, Jedissan and Dshambulat, partly by the whole hordes of Ckaranogay or Black Nogays, and Nedischkul, and more northerly and towards the sea by Turckmen Tartars: the total number of kibitkes amounts to 4286. All the Nogays dwelling here rove about after the

manner of the nomadic nations, with their flocks and herds of sheep, oxen, horses and camels; but each horde has nearly its regular district for summer and another for winter. They now conduct themselves like quiet subjects, and have relinquished their predatory mode of life. They are hospitable and sociable, and all profess the Mohammedan religion. It is remarkable, that we yet find among them that infirmity of which Herodotus, in treating of the Scythians, makes mention in these words:—"When the Scythians were masters of Asia, they went thence towards Egypt; but when they had reached Syria and Palestine, Psametichus king of Egypt went to meet them, and by presents and entreaties prevailed on them not to advance; they returned, therefore, by way of Askalon into Syria, and left the country without doing any further mischief, excepting that some who remained behind plundered the temple of Urania. This temple, from all accounts that I have been able to collect, was the most ancient which this goddess ever had, and that in Cyprus owes its origin to it, according to the admission of the Cyprians themselves: the temple of Cythera was likewise erected by Phœnicians, natives of Syria. The goddess hereupon sent a feminine disease among those Scythians who had plundered her temple at Askalon, and this punishment was perpetuated for ever among their posterity. The Scythians say that this disease was a chastisement for the sacrilege; and strangers who visit the country of the Scythians witness it in the state of those who are called by those people Enaræans."

Hippocrates, in his Treatise on Air and Vapour, in which he gives many particulars concerning the Scythians, also speaks of these Enaræans. "There are likewise among the Scythians," says he, "persons who come into the world as eunuchs, and do all the work of women; they are called *Enarœans* or *womanish*. The people of their country consider this defect as a visitation of the gods, and pay respect to these Enarœans in order to divert a similar misfortune from themselves. For my part, I believe that this evil is no more sent by the deity than any thing else we see; for I think that every effect has its cause, and that nothing can happen without one."—Reineggs is the first modern who found this kind of infirmity among the Nogays, only with this difference, that they are not born with it, but that it arises from incurable debility after diseases, or from increasing age. The skin then grows wrinkled, the scanty beard falls off, and the man assumes a completely feminine appearance. He becomes incapable of copulation, and his sentiments and actions lose the masculine character. In this state he is obliged to shun the company of men, and to associate with women, whom he perfectly resembles. Reineggs, however, is mistaken, when he says that these persons

also wear female apparel, as they would in this case have to dress in red clothes and veils. It is indeed common for old Nogay women to go with nothing but an untanned sheep-skin thrown over their wrinkled hides, and a cap of the same on their heads; and thus equipped, they are not to be distinguished from those woman-like individuals of the other sex.

Count Potocki, who visited the *steppe* of the Kuma and the Caucasus in the winter of 1797-1798, made inquiries concerning this disease of the Nogays on the Beschtau, to whom, however, it seemed to be wholly unknown. When he afterwards travelled along the Kuma, and returned over the sands of Anketeri, where he found great part of their nation assembled, he for the first time saw at the Red Well, as it is called, one of these metamorphosed men, or *Choss*, whom he took for an old woman, but was afterwards convinced, upon inquiry, that it was really a man, and that this disease still occurs, though but rarely. Neither is it unknown in Turkey, where the name of *Choss* is given to all those men who have no beards.—At the same time the Count very justly remarks, that Reineggs is wrong in styling the whole nation of the Nogays, Mangutai; that the Calmucks indeed give all the Tartars the name of Mangut, but that this appellation properly attaches to one tribe only by which it is assumed, and which does not even belong to the Nogays. Count Potocki was himself in their horde, but they were total strangers to the above-mentioned disease*.

The Nogays dwelling beyond the Ckuban, who are called Manzurow and Nawrus-Aul, and of whom I shall speak at another opportunity, have in part relinquished the roving life, and reside in permanent villages, the houses of which, like those of the Tscherkessians, are composed of wicker-work covered with clay or plaster.

Of all the Tartar tribes that I have seen, the Nogays bear by far the strongest resemblance in features and figure to the Mongols, a circumstance which authorizes the inference of an intermixture with that nation, which perhaps took place during their residence to the north and north-west of the Caspian Sea. The assertion, however, of some writers, that they have retained the Mongol language, is false; on the other hand, you still find among them some remains of the Old Tartar dialect, which they make use of in writing, and which is called *Dshagatai*, or, as it is there commonly pronounced, *Schagaltai*. It is almost entirely free from foreign words, as

* *Histoire primitive des Peuples de la Russie, par le Comte Jean Potocki.* A St. Petersbourg, 1802, 4to, p. 175.

well as the Uigurian, which is yet spoken in the centre of Asia about Chamil and Turfan, and which, according to Ruysbroeck's statement, is the mother of the Turkish and Komanian language. This Dshagataian dialect is used in writing by many other Tartar nations, especially beyond the Caspian Sea, and sometimes written with the ordinary Arabic Tartar letters, and at others in Uigurian characters.

The Nogays generally live in communities of several families, who together form an Aûl, which, for the sake of pasturage, first encamps in one place and then in another. The usual mode of calculating the strength of such an Aûl is by the number of kettles, (*ckazan*,) one kettle being reckoned to each family: but the Russians determine the number of families by that of the felt *jurtes* or *kibitkes*, which in Tartar and Persian are termed *aldshik*. The practice of living upon carriages, formerly common among these people, is now almost entirely relinquished; but the Nogays still have many large two-wheeled carts drawn by oxen, and called *arba*, which, with their ungreased wheels, make an intolerable grating and creaking, of which they are extremely proud, saying that they do not sneak about like thieves, but, like honest people, care not who hears them.

Their usual food is milk, partly fresh and partly curded, and cheese; which they make in different ways. As they are very fond of mare's milk, they keep a great number of those animals, and, like the Calmucks, distil from it the celebrated spirit called Kümiss, with which they easily and frequently become intoxicated. The Nogay women are not ugly, and those of the higher class in particular have very delicate skins, and are great favourites with the neighbouring nations on account of the warmth of their constitution.

The Nogays are Mohammedans, of the sect of the Sunni, and have priests or mullahs of their own nation, who partly pursue their studies among the Turks, and in five or six years return to the Ckuban. Most of them nevertheless are extremely ignorant, and seldom learn any thing more than to read the Korân and chant a few prayers.

Stawropol is the capital of a circle which is named after it. The eastern boundary runs from south to north, from the conflux of the Atschile and the Kalâuss to the northernmost point of the great lake of Ilmen, which is formed by the Manytsch. To the north it is separated by the middle Jegorlyk from the country of the Don Cossacks; to the west it is bounded by the territory of the Tschernomorzians and the river Ckuban, and to the south by the circle of Alexandrow and the woody mountains of Scheb Ckaragatsch. The greater and northern part of

this circle is, with the exception of the Cossack posts and redoubts, nearly uninhabited, and a level *steppe;* but the immediate environs of Stawropol, about 30 wersts in circumference, are very populous and well cultivated. Along the Ckuban are situated the redoubts of Nedremannoi, Dershawnoi, Sapadnoi, Protschnoi Okop, Zarizinskoi, Grigoripolis, Ternowkoi, Temischbek, the fortress of Kawkaskaja, the redoubts of Kasanskoi, Tifliskoi, and Ladogskoi, all three of which have their names from Russian regiments; and lastly, the more important fortress of Ust Labinskaja, opposite to the spot where the Laba discharges itself into the left side of the Ckuban. About 40 wersts to the north of this fortress, several familes of Little Russian peasants have settled on the frontiers of the Tschernomorzians, and built a village on the Little Beissu, which is thence called Nowo-Malorossisskaja, and is a considerable place.

Early in the morning of the 23d of November we left Stawropol with a pretty sharp frost and a very disagreeable cutting north wind, which was reverberated by the hills. Our road, which had hitherto run from north to south, now turned abruptly to the east, and still led over tolerably level ground for eight wersts to the village of Nadeshda (*Hope*), seated on a rivulet named Mamai, which falls into the Atschile. Beyond this village we had to ascend a steep acclivity belonging to the flötz formation, and consisting like it of tolerably porous gray lime-stone which contains numerous impressions of shell-fish. From Nadeshda it was eight wersts more to the village of Pokrowskoi, the first in the circle of Alexandrowsk, situated on an elevated plain. Five wersts further we had to the east another small brook running to the Atschile, and beyond it a considerable eminence, which we ascended, and on which we continued for ten wersts. We then came to the valley in which flows the Beschpaghir (*the Five Breasts*); this stream also unites with the Atschile, and upon it is situated the redoubt and Cossack station of the same name, distant 31 wersts from Stawropol. Here we only changed horses, and then our road from the station led over the steep ridge of a hill bounding an oblong valley, in which, at the ninth werst, we had on the right a small lake with bitter water, and not far from it the rivulet Gorkaja, or *the bitter*, which runs through this valley in a north-eastern direction and discharges itself into the Atschile. Beyond this valley the country became level, and so continued to the Kalâus, on the left of which is situated the station and village of Nowo Grigoriewskaja, 27 wersts from the preceding. The Kalâus is one of the most considerable rivers in the *steppe* on the Kuma, and is formed of several brooks which rise on the south side of the woody range of the Scheb Ckaragatsch, and all unite in the country between this station and the village of Krugloi

Less, or *the Round Wood*, seated on the flötz mountains at the distance of 25 wersts. Excepting the Atschile, which falls into it on the left, this river receives no accession of any consequence till its junction with the Manytsch, and its whole serpentine course may measure about 30 German miles. Among the Nogays, the upper part of this river, on account of the many willows, is called Junkul, and in Tscherkessian Banoka. Fish of various kinds, especially carp, tench, and perch, come up out of the Don and Manytsch into this river, and are transported as far as Georgiewsk.

Beyond Nowo Grigoriewskaja we crossed the Kalâus by a bridge, and proceeded through a narrow valley, having all the way on our left the little rivulet of Dshikinly or Tschetschora, which discharges itself into the last-mentioned river near the village of Sergiewskaja. At the end of 15 wersts we arrived at the station and fortress of Ssewernoi, a pretty considerable place seated on the steep declivity of the valley. From this station it is only 19 wersts to the circular town of Alexandrow, which is situated on the shelving west bank of the Dongusle or *Hog River*. On the way thither we had to cross a lofty ridge of sand-stone, which incloses the valley watered by that river, and of which Pallas, who had an opportunity for examining it more minutely, gives the following account:—This range, which runs under various names from the foot of the Elbrus, and here, before it declines again towards the *steppe*, forms a lofty ridge, is merely a sand-stone formation on a lime-stone rock; its yellowish and gray mass separates into thick and nearly horizontal strata, and from the north-west extremity are procured mill-stones for the supply of the whole adjacent country. When you have ascended this steep and lofty ridge, you find on the top a level valley surrounded with eminences, whence issues the Ternowka, a small stream that runs into the Dongusle, and at length descend again abruptly into the extensive vale, in which upon the flat summit of an eminence stands the fortress of Ssewernoi.

This range, which, as a branch of the Elbrus, runs northward between the source of the Kuma and the bend of the river Ckuban, that rushes from the more lofty and distant mountains, includes the heights of Ckara-Jaella or Worowskoi Less (*Robbers'-Wood*) and those of Krugloi Less (*Round Wood*), which exceed in height most of the adjacent eminences; and before it reaches Ssewernoi shoots up into a lofty peak named from its exposed and tempestuous situation Swistun, (*the Blusterer*,) at length proceeds forward with its subordinate branch, over which the road passes, between the sources of the Dongusle and Kalâus. In advancing from the low *steppe* on the Kuma to this chain of hills, the plain begins to rise with a gra-

dual ascent beyond Priwolnoi. Near the Karamikle a more elevated ridge projects, runs up that rivulet to the eminences at its source, and with gradually decreasing hills which extend beyond the head of the Dongusle joins the highest sand-stone range. From this same chain proceed the moderate hills which lose themselves towards the *steppe*, and accompany the right bank of the Ckuban to Protschnoi Okop; of these the rugged heights opposite to the mouth of the Little Selentschuk, and those of the Scheb Ckaragatsch or Temnoi Less (*the Dark Wood*) near the fortress of Pregradnoi Stan, are parts; and hence the primary streams of the Jegorlyk take their rise very near to the Ckuban. Below Protschnoi Okop these heights run off into a level but elevated tract, where, singularly enough, at the distance of no more than from five to eight wersts from the bank of the Ckuban, the rivers Tschelbassch and Beissu, which, on the contrary, direct their course to the sea of Asow, have their sources.

This branch of the chain of the Elbrus is particularly remarkable for the influence which it has on the weather, temperature, and vegetation of the countries lying to the north-west and south-east of it. The whole plain towards the Kuma, and especially the environs of Georgiewsk and Alexandrow, are so completely skreened by this lofty ridge from all north and north-west winds, that the winters there are extremely mild, so that the inhabitants scarcely ever have an opportunity of using sledges, and can often, as in the mountainous parts of Tauria, go without great coats in January. The spring begins there very early; in summer the heat is intense, and the weather almost invariably serene. The cold winds blow only from the snowy mountains, from the valleys of the Podkuma, the Malka, and the Baksan, whence the fogs and rain of this country also proceed: the other winds are warm and dry. On the other hand, at Ssewernoi, at the distance of only 19 wersts, the winter is often much longer and more severe, and the spring in particular considerably later. The snow often falls there to the depth of a yard, and lies longer; blustering west and north-west winds are very frequent, and occasion a low temperature*.

The circle of Alexandrow lies eastward of that of Stawropol, and extends from Pregradnoi Stan, a redoubt on the Ckuban, beyond the rivers Kalâus, Dongusle, Buywalla and Suchaja Buywalla, to the Manytsch, which divides it from the country of the Don Cossacks and the government of Astrachan; but its boundaries do not touch the Kuma and the villages situated upon it. Ten wersts from the two redoubts of Pregradnoi Stan and Newinnomysskoi on the Ckuban, and on the woody

* *Pallas Reise in die südl. Statthalt.* i. 430.

ridge of Scheb Ckaragatsch, is the new-built fortress of Temnolesskaja, and five wersts to the north of it the Cossack *stanitza* of the same name. Alexandrow itself was originally a redoubt on the line of the Ckuban formed in 1777; but in 1783 it was raised to the rank of a circular town of the Caucasian government; since which time it has considerably increased, though it is not yet so large as Stawropol.

The station of Ssablja or Soldatskoi, the first place in the circle of Georgiewsk, lies 27 wersts to the south-west of Alexandrow, on a rivulet of the same name, issuing from the range of sand-stone hills, near which also it discharges itself into the left of the river Mokroi Ckaramykle. Here, after changing horses, we crossed the latter, and nine wersts further the Ssuchoi (*dry*) Ckaramykle, which really had no water. The country here became level, and on the left only we had, at the distance of some wersts, a range of hills, over which we passed shortly before we came to Alexandria, a village and station 31 wersts from Ssablja. The Kuma, which we here saluted for the first time, flowed in a clayey vale, which continues so higher up to the influx of the Barssukly (*Badgers' Water*). The latter is very deep in spring, when the snow melts on the nearest mountains, in which it rises about ten wersts beyond the redoubt of Tanlytzkoi. Along it runs a commodious road to the Ckuban, whence there is another to a second stream called Barssukly, opposite to the former on the west side, and which falls into the Ckuban. For the sake of distinction, the first of these rivulets is likewise called by the Tartars Ssurukly on account of a rocky peak situated near its mouth on the north-east side; for Ssuruk signifies *pointed*, and hence the hill is named in Tartar Ssuruk-tasch, but in Tscherkessian Otschek Kui, that is, the *Bald Otschek*. The Russians call it Kum. It rises to the height of about 30 fathoms above the level of the Barssukly, and its summit is a bare rock only a few feet in diameter. At its north-eastern foot there is a brackish pool, and about two wersts distant, in the same direction, a cold sulphureous spring which issues from the flat of the hills between fine gray sand-stone, and runs to the Kuma.

From Alexandria it is but 13 wersts to Georgiewsk; the road lies chiefly through the low grounds towards the Kuma, which we had crossed by a bridge, and it is not till shortly before you reach the Cossack *stanitza*, to the north of Georgiewsk, that you begin to ascend, by a pretty steep road, the lofty acclivity of the *steppe* bordering the Podkuma, on which both the stanitza and the fortress are situated. The latter we reached in the morning of the 24th of November.

CHAPTER XVII.

SITUATION OF GEORGIEWSK—DECLIVITY OF THE STEPPE—COSSACK STANITZA—STYLE OF BUILDING—UNHEALTHY CLIMATE—CHAIN OF THE CAUCASUS—SNOWY MOUNTAINS—BLACK MOUNTAINS—ELBRUS—KASI-BEG—ORIGIN OF THE NAME OF CAUCASUS—ANOTHER NAME OF THESE MOUNTAINS—JALBUS, OR ICE-MANE, IS THE MOST COMMON—VISIT TO THE GOVERNOR OF THE CAUCASIAN GOVERNMENT—ALTERATION OF THE AUTHOR'S PLAN—GENERAL BULGHAKOW—HIS EXPEDITION AGAINST THE TSCHETSCHENZES.

GEORGIEWSK is a small, tolerably well fortified place on the left bank of the river, called by the Russians Podkumok or Podkumka, by the Tscherkessians Gumeh, and which was formerly known also by the name of the Little Kuma. On the east and south side of the fortress the declivity is very abrupt, so that you can descend it but in very few places, and with great inconvenience. Coarse sand and clay make their appearance; and in the sand are sometimes found small muscles either petrified or decayed. On the north side the town adjoins the *steppe*, and has an imperceptible descent towards the Cossack *stanitza*, about a werst distant. The ramparts of Georgiewsk itself, which forms a pentagon, though but of earth, are strongly fortified with cannon. Within these few years, however, solid stone bastions and considerable works have been begun on the west side, where it is not defended by the precipice, and these will render the place impregnable against any attack of the mountaineers, who have neither artillery nor the least notion of the operations of a siege. The materials for building are furnished by the lime-stone quarries of the neighbouring Besch-tau.

Georgiewsk, now the capital of the Caucasian government, was founded in 1777, on the formation of the Caucaso-Ckuban line. It is built in a regular and cheerful manner, but the houses in general are only of slight boarding, and you very rarely find one that is solid enough to secure its inhabitants in winter from the unpleasant and piercing winds of the *steppe*. The adjacent country is very agreeable, and the whole plain beyond the Podkuma overgrown with wood. Though there are no morasses in the vicinity, and the air is dry and clear, yet the climate of this place powerfully affects both strangers and natives, and towards the end of summer and in autumn produces such frequent fevers that there is scarcely a house which has not at least one patient confined with that disease.

From this place you have a view of the whole chain of the Caucasus, as far as the Lesgian mountains; a spectacle which perhaps cannot be paralleled except in the *steppes* of Middle Asia, for in no other part of the old world is a plain so vast as the *steppe* of the Kuma bounded by such a lofty and extensive range. The Caucasus apparently forms two chains running parallel to each other, the highest covered with snow, and the lower or northern, which is commonly called the Black Mountains. The former are denominated by the Tartars Ckar Daghlar, but by the Tscherkessians, from Kasibeg to the Elbrus, Kurdsh; and the Black Mountains are named by the Russians Tschernoi Gory, in Tartar Ckara-Daghlar, and in Tscherkessian Kusch'ha.

The loftiest mountains in the snowy chain are the Kasi-beg and the Elbrus; but the latter is by far the highest, and little inferior in elevation to Mont Blanc. It has never yet been ascended, and the Caucasians have a notion that no person can reach its summit without the special permission of the Deity. They likewise relate that here Noah first grounded with the ark, but was driven further to Ararat. The ascent from the south side would perhaps be the most practicable, did not the mountaineers throw innumerable obstructions in the way of such an enterprise. Its foot is totally uninhabited, and surrounded by marshes produced in summer by the melting of the snows. The Russians call this mountain Schat-gora; the Ckaratschai, Mingitau; the Tartars, Jalduss or Elbrus; the Armenians, Jalbus; the Tscherkessians, Uasch'hamako, that is, the *Gracious* or *Holy Mountain*; the Abasses, Orfi If'gub; and the Ssuanes, Passa. All the mountaineers have abundance of tales to relate concerning the evil spirits and dæmons who dwell upon it; whose prince they call Dshin Pudischah, and of whose annual meetings they have invented as many fables as the North Germans respecting the assemblies of the witches on the Brocken. The other lofty mountain, which nearly terminates to the east the snowy range visible from Georgiewsk, is the Kasibeg, which in Georgian is named Mqinwari, but by the Ossetes Urss-choch, or the *White Mountain*.

Respecting the origin and signification of the name Caucasus, there is a wide difference of opinion. The most ancient explanation of it we find in Pliny, who derives this word from the Scythian *Graucasus*, which is said to signify *nive candidus*. As, however, this etymology is not confirmed by any known language, and it is extremely improbable that the whole family of words to which it belongs should have been lost, it seems to carry very little weight, and to be equally unfounded with many others set up by the ancients. *Kaukas*, which is a foreign term in these mountains, may perhaps come from the Persian appellation *Koh-Ckâf*, which sig-

nifies the Mountains of *Ckâf**. The more ancient form of this word was probably *Ckafasp* or *Ckassp*, with the termination *Assp*, which was common in the Median dialects. From this ancient form the Caspian Sea and the nation of the Caspians probably received their name; for, according to the testimony of Eratosthenes (in Strabo), the people inhabiting the Caucasus called it the Caspian mountains—Κασπιον ὄρος. In Moses of Chorene it is named *Kowkass* and *Kaukass*; and in the History of Georgia, compiled by the direction of King Wachtang the Fifth †, from the archives of the convents of Mzchetha and Gelathi, the most ancient boundaries of this country are thus described:—"On the east it has the Gurganian Sea (Gurganissa), now called the Sea of Gilan; on the west the Pontic, otherwise the Black Sea; on the south the Orethian Mountains (Orethissa), situated in the country of the Kurds (Khurthia) towards Media; and on the north the Kawkasian Mountains (Khawk'assia), which are called by the Persians Jalbus." In the epitome of the history of the country, written by the Georgian prince Davith, and printed at Tiflis in 1798, the Caucasus is likewise styled from ancient authorities K'awk'ass. "The country belonging to him (to Thargamoss) was bounded on the east by the Gurganian Sea (that is, the Caspian); on the west by the Black Sea (which is the Pontus); on the south by the Aressian mountains (those of Kurthistan); and on the north by the K'awk'asian ‡."

All this sufficiently proves the antiquity of the name of Caucasus among the neighbouring nations; nevertheless at present it is but little used by the Asiatics, who commonly call this mountain by the Tartar name of *Jalbus*, that is, *Ice-mane*. In Tartar the appellation is properly *Jalbus thaghlar*, but among the Nogays I have likewise heard it pronounced *Jildis thaghlar*, in which case it signifies Mountains of the Stars. By the Turks the Caucasus is named *Ckâf thâgi*, Mountains of Ckâf. The Georgians usually employ the Tartar term, and say *Jalbusiss Mtha*, Mount Jalbus. The Armenians call it Jalbusi-ssar, but the name of Kawkas also is still retained by them.

Another appellation of the Caucasian mountains, though but rarely used by the Georgians, is *Themi* or *Temi*, the signification of which I was unable to learn,

* In Pehlwi, the ancient language of Media or Parthia, a mountain was called Kof, consequently the Caucasus was styled Kof Ckâf, or Kof Ckasp.

† Wachtang Mechuthi Lewanssa tse, Wachtang the Fifth, son of Lewan, reigned from 1703 to 1722, in Kharthli, which we erroneously call Karduel or Kartalinia.

‡ *Schemok'lebuli Istoria ssa Kharthuhloissa*, Brief History of Georgia, § 4. p. 84.

They moreover give distinct names to different parts of them, and almost every peak of the snowy range has its peculiar denomination.

By the Persians the Caucasus is called *Elbrus**, an ancient appellation, common to many lofty snow-covered mountains, and occurring in the Bundehesch, which is written in the Send language. In the Caucasus there are yet two snowy peaks which more particularly bear this name; the one in the north-west, whence issue the sources of the Ckuban, Rioni, and Zcheniss-tzq'ali, and to the north of Imerethi; the other in South Daghestan, westward of the town of Ckuba, which is better known by the denomination of Schah Dagh, or Schat Dagh. It is this last that is mentioned by the name of Elbrus in a history of Timur written in Persian. In the history of the Emir Sheich Ibrahim, related on occasion of the expedition to Daghestan in the year 788 (A.D. 1386), we are told: "And he (Timur) conferred on him (the Emir Scheich Ibrahim) and his descendants, the reins of dominion in the countries of Schirwán and Schamáchy, to the extremities of the Elbrus."—In Persia also, in the province of Dshebál, there are two lofty mountains which bear this name; one of these is the celebrated fire-mountain of the Parsees, which is commonly called Schah-Kóh, the King's mountain.

Thus it is evident that Elbrus is not in reality a proper name, but a general appellation of all lofty snow-clad mountains, and that it has been given to the Caucasus on account of its elevated points covered with everlasting ice. This name is however of very high antiquity.

The other denominations of the Caucasus, mentioned by Reineggs, are either not commonly used, or applied to individual parts of the chain. *Tau*, *Taw*, *Dagh*, or *Thagh*, is Tartar, and signifies *mountain* in general, and cannot therefore designate the Caucasus in particular. It nevertheless gave occasion to the name of Tawlinni (inhabitants of the mountains), formerly used by the Russians and applied by them to the Kistes and Ossetes, but which is now consigned to oblivion as indefinite and improper, and superseded by the still more indefinite *Gorsski*, mountaineers.

The words *Kärn* and *Aente* are Arabic, and never employed in the Caucasus. The first, *Ckärn*, signifies *jungere unum alteri*, also *horns*, whence is derived *vertex*

* The original mode of writing this word is *Elbordsh*, but it is now unusual; on the other hand *Abrus* is erroneous. In Persian *bers* yet signifies *statura, proceritas corporis, altus, altitudo*; but we should not venture to derive *Elbrus* from it, as the Arabic article *el* is never prefixed to a Persian word. In the ancient dialects of Persia, *bordsh* is synonymous with *bers*.

montis. Reineggs perhaps had in mind also the Persian *Kerane Koh*, high mountains. *Aend, tractus vel latus rei*, is never used of mountains.—The names *Galbus* and *Yo-albus* are likewise unknown, or distortions of Jalbus. *Ckar Daghlar* (snow-mountains) and *Bus Daghlar* (ice-mountains), are not proper names, and *Oss-Daghlar* is applied by the Tartars to the mountains of the Ossetes, which, however, they usually designate by the indefinite term Taúlisstân, or Tawlisstân.—Neither is *Karakalkan Daghlar* a general appellation. These words Reineggs falsely translates mountains of the Black Risers, deriving *Kalkan* from the Tartar *Ckalckmack*, to rise; an etymology which in his second volume he endeavours to explain in the most absurd manner.

Ckará Ckálckán Dághlar is the name given in Tartar to the southern slate-mountains of the Caucasus, situated between the sources of the Rioni and the Aragwe, and inhabited by the Ossetes; and the river Didi Liachwi, which rises in them, is denominated in the same language *Ckará Ckálckán szú*.—*Ckará Ckálckán* signifies *black shield*, and is a name which has been given to the Ossetes because they formerly used shields of that colour. According to others these mountains received that appellation from their dark appearance.

The Tscherkessians call the most elevated of the snowy mountains of the Caucasus Kusch'ha; but the whole chain between the upper Terek and the source of the Ckuban is named by them and the Ossetes *Kurdsh*.—In the language of these last the snowy mountains are termed *Ziti-chog*, and in Georgian *Qinuliss mtha*, both which denominations signify snow-covered mountains.

On the 25th of November, the day after our arrival at Georgiewsk, I delivered to his Excellency the Governor of the Caucasian department, Nicolai Michailowitsch Kartwelinow, my letters of recommendation from St. Petersburg, and was received by him in the most courteous manner. My original plan was to spend the ensuing winter on the Line, to make short excursions into the northern Caucasus, and then to proceed towards the end of May to Tiflis. I communicated my intention to the governor; but he advised me to defer my excursions along the Line till summer, as I should every where be detained a long time by the quarantine, as the plague had not yet ceased among the mountaineers, especially the Tscherkessians and Abassians, and all communication with them was most severely prohibited. I was therefore under the necessity of altering my plan, and to travel before the end of the year, in the middle of December, over the Caucasus to Georgia, where I might arrange my future operations according to circumstances.

By the command of the governor, a lodging was assigned me during my stay at

Georgiewsk, and he had the goodness to introduce me to several persons who were likely to be of service to me. I likewise went to see General von Bulghákow, who commands on the Line, who has long resided in these parts, and has distinguished himself by his valour in the campaigns against the Caucasians and the Turks. He had this year returned from an expedition against the Tschetschenzes, but which, as he was not properly supported, had not been attended with any decisive success. At Georgiewsk I met also with M. Siemssen, a chemist who had accompanied Count Mussin Puschkin in his tour among the mountains of Georgia, who furnished me with much useful information and many hints for my journey thither, and showed me other civilities, for which I here once more pay him the tribute of my gratitude.

At Georgiewsk I had opportunities to collect particulars respecting the north-west part of the Caucasus, which, combined with my own recent observations, shall presently be submitted to the reader. In order to render my account the more intelligible, I shall preface it with a general survey of the relations of Russia with the Caucasus and Georgia, for the materials for which I am partly indebted to Count John Potocki.

CHAPTER XVIII.

SURVEY OF THE RELATIONS OF RUSSIA WITH THE CAUCASUS AND GEORGIA.

FIRST EPOCH.

From the Zar Iwan Wassiliewitsch to the Expedition of Peter the Great against Persia.

A.D. 1555.] DURING the reign of the Zar Iwan Wassiliewitsch, in the year of the world 7063, the Tscherkessian princes of the Five Mountains (*Besch-tau*) submitted with their whole country and all their subjects for ever to the Russian sceptre.

After they had been admitted into the number of the vassals of the empire, they were employed, agreeably to an imperial ordinance, in the military service, in which many of them in the sequel gloriously distinguished themselves.

1557.] In the year of the world 7065, when the Russians were at war with Dewlet Gerai, Chan of the Krym, the Zar Iwan Wassiliewitsch sent Prince Dimitri Wichnjewski with part of the troops into the Krym: he took the town of Isslam-Kjermen by storm, put the whole of the garrison to the sword, and carried off all the cannon that he found there. At the same time the Tscherkessian princes Tas-Durt and Dossibok, with the permission of the Zar, made an incursion in another quarter into the territories of the Krym, and took the towns of Temruk and Thaman.

During the same reign, Schah-bas-Gerai, Chan of the Krym, at the head of a great army composed of his own troops and Ckuban Tartars, invaded the Tscherkessians, plundered their villages, and compelled them to settle on the Ckuban and to embrace Islamism. Yielding to force, they continued there some years; but when Russia went to war with the Krym and Ckuban Tartars, the Tscherkessians returned, with the aid of the Calmucks serving under the Zar, to their former abodes on the Besch-tau. After a few tranquil years, the people of the Ckuban again began to make incursions into their country, and harassed them incessantly, in order to bring them back again to the Ckuban, under the dominion of the Krym. The Tscherkessians, weary of everlasting war, at length abandoned the Besch-tau, or the Five Mountains, and removed nearer to the Terek, where they settled on the river Baksan in the Russian territory. They had then at their head two princes,

the brothers Kabarty-Bek, who quarrelling on account of this change of abode, parted, and divided the Tscherkessian nation between them. The elder remained on the river Baksan, but the younger with his followers proceeded to the Terek; and hence afterwards arose the division of their country into the Great and Little Kabardah. The princes and *usdens* (nobles) of the nation professed Mohammedanism; but the mass of the people and the peasants were Christians of the Greek persuasion, and had churches and orthodox priests in their villages.

In token of subjection, it was customary at that time for the Tscherkessian princes to give the Zar their children and nearest relations as hostages. This practice continued under Iwan Wassiliewitsch and his son Feodor Iwanowitsch.

1559.] An embassy appeared at Moskwa from the Tscherkessian prince of Tjumen, who expressed a wish to be admitted among the vassals of the empire, which was complied with. In the same year also arrived an embassy from the Shamchals, imploring assistance against the incursions of the Tscherkessians, which however was refused.

1560.] Among the hostages were the son and daughter of the reigning Tscherkessian prince Temruk, a son of Idar; these embraced the Christian religion at Moskwa. The daughter, Maria Temrukowna, became in 1560 the second wife of the Zar Iwan Wassiliewitsch (she died in 1568). Her brother, Michailow Temrukowitsch Tscherkasskoi, was Bojorin or actual privy counsellor to the same prince.

1565.] This Zar sent the Woiwode Prince Iwan Daschkow with an army to assist the prince of Temruk against his enemies. At this time Christianity had become general among the Tscherkessians.

1568.] The Russians founded a city on the Terek, a measure which gave great dissatisfaction to the Tscherkessians of Tjumen, and proved a frequent occasion of bloodshed.

1570.] The Tscherkessians on the Besch-tau were defeated by the Tartars in a battle in which their prince was wounded, and his two sons Mamstruk and Biberuk taken prisoners.

1571.] Nowossilzow, the messenger, was sent on the part of Russia to Constantinople to make proposals for peace, and to deliver a remonstrance respecting the Turkish troops who had invaded the province of Astrachan: but the Porte replied, that it would not consent to any peace, unless the Russians would relinquish their new town on the Terek.

1572.] The Krym Tartars made frequent incursions into Russia, and even advanced to the neighbourhood of Moskwa; but were always driven back. The same

year the princes Michailo Temrukowitsch, Peter Gorenski Tscherkasski, and others, were executed on suspicion of being concerned in poisoning the third wife of the Zar.

1589.] A Georgian embassy came to Russia to implore the Zar's assistance against the Turks, which was promised by a Russian embassy attended by priests. The preceding year, Nowossilzow, the messenger, had been sent to Persia, and returned from that country with the Persian ambassador Andy Beg; who, hearing at Astrachan of the death of Schah Abbas, took the seal from his credentials, and affixed it to new ones which he drew up himself in the name of the usurper.

The principal object of his mission was to propose to the Russians to extend their dominion over the Terek and the Caucasus as far as the territories of the Schamchal, and over Georgia. He was admitted to an audience, and the new Schah afterwards confirmed his father's promise to cede the cities of Derbend and Baku to the Russians whenever they should have taken them from the Turks. Thus an alliance was concluded between Russia and Persia against the common enemy. The Turks, who were then in possession of several Persian towns, made at the same time overtures of peace to the Schah, and promised to deliver them up, if he would give his sister to the Grand Signor. The same year Wassiltschikow returned from a mission to Persia, accompanied by envoys from the Schah, among whom was a Sheich, prince of Ssamarckand.

1590.] These envoys were presented to the Zar, and Boris informed them that Russian troops were already on their march to Tarku, to take possession of the two above-mentioned cities. At the same time they were given to understand that Russia was desirous of gaining possession of those places without employing her own force for the purpose, and that a decisive answer on the subject should be sent to the Schah. The Zar was solicitous to avoid an open rupture with the Turks, and only to effect a diversion in favour of Hungary, where they had the superiority over the Austrians, and hoped by the aid of the Pope to induce the Poles to agree to an advantageous peace.

1594.] The subjects of the Schamchal having committed hostilities against Russia, the Zar Feodor Iwanowitsch sent Prince Andrei Iwanowitsch Chworostinin with an army to Terki, to build a town at the mouth of the river Koissu, in order to extend the Russian dominions, and at the same time to take possession of Tarku, the capital of the Schamchal, and to fortify it better. The town was accordingly founded on the Koissu by Prince Dolguruki; but at Tarku they met with too obstinate a resistance from the Daghestanians and Ckumücks to be able to accomplish

their purpose. At that time Ssuntschalei Kanglitschi, a Tscherkessian prince, came with his people to Terki, where they built a suburb on the opposite bank of the river, and rendered the empire considerable service.

The rebellious Cossacks formed a kind of republic along the Wolga and the Don, and engaged in frequent predatory expeditions. The Turks complained that those on the Terek and the Ssundsha were not kept in order by the Russians: on which the Sultan Amurath III. was assured that the necessary orders had already been issued to reduce them to quietness.

The Porte secretly furnished the Chans of the Krym with troops and artillery against the Russians.

So early as 1587 Russia had sent an interpreter to Georgia to explore the country; in 1594 he returned with the ambassador of the then reigning king Alexander and one from the Tscherkessians, who both solicited to be admitted vassals of the empire. Though this king Alexander had previously concluded a treaty with Persia, he was nevertheless necessitated to apply to Russia on account of the critical situation in which he was placed by the rupture between the Turks and Persians. The Zar complied with his wishes and those of the Tscherkessians, and sent deputies to them to receive the oath of allegiance. He directed four fortified places to be constructed in the country of the Tscherkessians for their protection, and dispatched a body of troops against the Schamchal. The following year, 1589, the Russian envoys returned, and a small annual tribute was imposed on the new subjects. Another Russian deputy was sent to the Caucasian mountains to receive the submission of other princes, who promised to conduct him in safety to Georgia, and to apprize the Russians of all the projects of their enemies. The king of Georgia received this envoy with great ceremony, and declared to him that Iweria would not prosper so long as it was not under the dominion of one master. The country was at that time divided between two princes, one of whom, named Simeon, groaned under the Turkish yoke. The Russian envoy invited this prince also to make his submission, and informed him that in the winter of the same year the Russian troops would take the field against those of the Schamchal. Two Georgian ambassadors accompanied him back, testified the devotion of their master to Russia, and solicited succours against the attacks of their enemies. They likewise applied for an artist to paint portraits of saints, and a cannon-founder. They were supplied with the former, but the latter was on some pretext or other refused.

1594.] In 1594 things assumed a more serious aspect, for the Turks commenced hostilities against the Russians. Prince Swenigorodski was therefore sent to Persia

to prevail on Schah Abbass to enter into an alliance against the former, and to effect the release of Prince Constantine, son of the king of Georgia, who was detained in Persia as a hostage. The Schah was willing to comply; but Constantine, who had conceived a partiality for the Persian manners and embraced Islamism, chose rather to remain where he was.

An envoy, named Naschokin, was sent to Constantinople to pave the way to a compromise, and to assure the Porte that Russia kept up a connexion with Georgia merely for the sake of religion, and to facilitate the commercial intercourse between the two countries. Respecting the Tscherkessians in the mountains, he represented that these people were of Russian origin, and had voluntarily submitted. He said that the new town on the Terek had been founded solely to protect them against the attacks of their enemies, and that the strictest orders had been given them to conduct themselves peaceably towards the neighbouring Turks.

1598.] On the death of the Zar Feodor Iwanowitsch in 1598, the male line of the family of the Russian sovereigns being extinct, Boris Godunow, one of the grandees of the empire, and brother-in-law of the late Zar, ascended the throne. During his reign the Tscherkessians remained faithful, and always furnished the appointed number of hostages.

1600.] The extension of the Russian territories under Boris Godunow gave umbrage to Schah Abbass, and at his instigation the Schamchals plundered a Russian ambassador with his retinue. Remonstrances were made on the part of Russia; but the Persian ambassadors were anxious to bury the affair in oblivion, and at the same time required that the new-built town on the Koissu should be demolished and the trade thrown open.

The same year two ambassadors, the Princes Alexander Sassekin and Temir Sasselscki, were sent to Persia. Their instructions contained the following points: 1. To require that the seal of the Schah should be affixed to treaties. 2. Likewise a formal oath. 3. To endeavour to divert him from an alliance with the Turks, and to prevail on him to send an ambassador to the Emperor of Germany, to attend the negotiations for peace with the Turks. 4. To inform the Schah that Boris had mounted the throne in compliance with the wishes of the late Zar Feodor. 5. To signify the readiness of Russia to demolish the fortress on the Koissu, if the Schah would engage to compel the Schamchal to make reparation for the insult offered to Russia. 6. The ambassadors were directed in case of surprise to throw their papers into the sea.

1602.] Alexander king of Georgia sided as he pleased, sometimes with the Rus-

sians, at others with the Turks or Persians. While one of his sons was a hostage in Russia, the other resided in the same quality in Persia, and he himself took the oath of allegiance to both powers. The Porte secretly assisted the Krym Tartars.

1604.] The Zar ordered the Asiatic frontiers of the empire to be fortified; and to this end he sent thither a considerable body of troops under the command of Prince Massalski, and Generals Buturlin, Pleschejew and others; but they were surprised by the Turks and mountaineers and cut in pieces. Most of their leaders fell on this occasion, and all the Russian possessions in Daghestan and the country of the Schamchal fell into the hands of the enemy.

From this time till the reign of the Zar Wassili Iwanowitsch Schuysskoi, all connection with the mountaineers was suspended.

1609.] The Kabardian prince Ssoloch and other chiefs of the Tscherkessians sent an envoy, named Kardan, with a letter to the Zar: but when he had arrived in the neighbourhood of Moskwa he was made prisoner by the Poles, who supported the pretended Dimitri, carried by them to Tuschino, 12 wersts from the Russian capital, and robbed of all his papers. The Poles detained him in captivity till they were beaten, together with the impostor, and obliged to retreat to Kaluga. Kardan then proceeded to Moskwa and related what had befallen him. After the Poles and other enemies had been driven out of Russia, and Michael Feodorowitsch Romanow elected Zar, the Kabardian princes Ssoloch, Kasi Mursa Scheptuka, Murdar Mursa Alkassi, Kudenek Mursa Ckasbulat, Nartschow Mursa Basluka, the sons of Aiteko, and others, transmitted in 1614 a letter of congratulation to the Zar on his accession; the Ssin Bojarski Peter Ssmagin, who was sent to them from the town of Terki, having previously received from them the oath of allegiance to the Zar, which was not only sworn by them verbally, but also subscribed by each with his own hand. It was as follows:

"I [here comes the name] swear to the great sovereign, Zar and grand-prince Michael Feodorowitsch, the autocrat of all Russia, in behalf of myself, my brothers and my children, great and small, and of my subjects of the highest, middle and lowest class in the country of Kabardah, that we will serve the great sovereign, Zar and grand-prince of all Russia, Michael Feodorowitsch, all our lives, and remain under the supreme authority of the Zar as subjects for ever, and to go in his service whithersoever the sovereign, Zar and grand prince of all Russia, Michael Feodorowitsch, shall command us. And when he commands us to march against the foes of his empire and against those who do not obey him, I, [name] my brothers, my children, and all my subjects will go forth to fight the enemies of

the Zar. We promise to pay implicit obedience to his orders, to execute them punctually, cheerfully, and without treachery. We moreover promise to hold intercourse with those Mursas only who serve our lord and Zar, to do no mischief to the towns of his empire, to drive away none of the cattle, nor to carry off the subjects of the Zar into captivity".....[A chasm in the original]..... "and with the Lithuanians".....[Another chasm]..... "the kings; we will not have the least intercourse with the people of Asow nor with any of the enemies of the empire and traitors, neither will we accompany them or their people to Moskwa or to other cities of the Zar's in our neighbourhood, nor to the towns on the Don and in the Ukraine, nor to the Mordwa, nor to any other of the subjects of the great sovereign, Zar and grand-prince of all Russia, Michael Feodorowitsch; as I [name] promise for myself and my subjects not to send or attend them, nor to promote treason and treacherous designs."

Underneath is written:—"I swear to the great sovereign, Zar and grand prince of all Russia, Michael Feodorowitsch, to observe every thing contained in this paper."

1616.] These Kabardian princes sent the Princes Kanbulat, Ssuntschalei Kanglytschi and Schegunak Mursa Busluk to the Zar, Michael Feodorowitsch, to testify their submission.

The hostages demanded for the assurance of their fidelity were kept, as formerly, in the town of Terki. Out of the families of the above-mentioned princes the following were selected: Dengisbeg Alashuka [Atashuka?] Kasi Mussawi, Aly Mussawi, Ssulthan Aly Sheibulat, [Dshembulat?] Schawloch Rjeka and Isslam Beg Mussi.

1622.] Russia concluded a commercial treaty with Persia.

1628.] The amicable connection between these two empires continued; but in 1628 Schah Abbass complained of the misconduct of the Russian ambassador, Prince Tufakin, who was punished by the confiscation of his property, and another sent in his stead. The same year Schah Abbass rejected Sasutzkoi's treasonable proposal to deliver up Astrachan to him, and gave information of it to the Zar.

1636.] The Cossacks offered to put the Russian court in possession of Asow; but the proposal was rejected by the Zar, who made the Porte acquainted with it.

1643.] In 1643 some new towns were founded to check the inroads of the Tartars; and the Zar Michael Feodorowitsch caused Terki, which had hitherto had only wooden walls and towers, to be fortified by the engineer Cornelius Claussen, a native of the Netherlands, with ramparts and bulwarks in the European manner. Great additions were made to these works during the reign of Alexei Michailowitsch in 1670 by a Scotchman, named Thomas Bayley.

1648.] Alexander king of Imerethi solicited to be admitted a vassal of the Russian empire.

1650.] In the year 7158 the Zar and grand-prince Alexei Michailowitsch commanded Nikifor Michailowitsch Tolotschanow and the secretary Alexei, son of Iwan Igewlef, to repair to Imerethi as ambassadors to King Alexander, to deliver to him the Zar's presents consisting of sable-skins, and to treat with him concerning certain important political affairs.

Tolotschanow and Igewlef received their instructions and the letter of the Zar and grand-prince to Alexander king of Imerethi, likewise an inventory of the sable-skins and the skins themselves, which were sent as a present from the Zar. According to their instructions they were to take for their protection, at all the towns as far as Astrachan, an escort more or less numerous according to the accounts they should receive at the different places to which they came. Beyond Astrachan they were to endeavour to proceed by the river Terek to Imerethi, to salute King Alexander in the name of the Russian monarch, to deliver his letter and make a speech, in which the presents sent by the Zar should be mentioned. They were directed to keep an exact account of Alexander's answer, and whatever might be said by his ministers.

On the 9th of June they were permitted to kiss the Zar's hand, and had their audience of leave together with the Imerethian ambassador. On the 6th of September they arrived at Astrachan. The governor, Prince Golyzin, directed a vessel to be immediately prepared for them.

They proceeded by water, encountering many storms, till the 24th of October. On that day the ambassadors of the Zar sent their interpreter Tisitschenka, and Alexander's ambassadors their chaplain Simeon, with some other persons, to Imerethi, to announce their arrival in the Terek, and to desire that King Alexander would send carriages to the shore to meet them.

On the 21st of January the interpreter who had been sent to Imerethi returned to Terki accompanied by one of the principal men of the court. The latter brought a letter from his master with this message, that the king was overjoyed to hear of their arrival, and congratulated them upon it; and that he requested them to come to him after Easter from the town of Terki.

Accordingly, after Easter, April 15th, the ambassadors set out from the town of Terki. The Woiwode of that place gave them an escort of 140 men and two guides.

On the 29th of May King Alexander sent to the ambassadors two of the principal

officers of his court, who brought a letter from their master. With them came 273 men to carry the presents of the Zar and the baggage of the ambassadors over the mountains.

June 3d they reached the first market town in the dominions of King Alexander, which was named after him. To this place two more Georgians of distinction had been sent to meet them with horses for the conveyance of the ambassadors as well as the baggage. This town is the see of an archbishop, who, as it was just then time for mass, invited the ambassadors to the ceremony and afterwards to dinner. At table he called for a bowl of wine, blessed it, and said, "Our king sent his ambassadors to your sovereign to implore him to take us as professors of the same religion under his mighty protection. We are now overjoyed to witness the arrival of you, the ambassadors of his Zarish Majesty. We pray God to give prosperity to your sublime monarch, to grant him long life, and to be gracious also to our king and us." He then drank out of the bowl to the health of our Zar, and afterwards gave it to the ambassadors, who drank to the health of King Alexander and the archbishop.

On the 16th of June the ambassadors arrived in the town (province) of Ratscha, which the Georgian King Theimuras possesses as an appanage. He sent to congratulate the ambassadors on their arrival, and to inquire after their health.

June 20th they reached Khuthais, the residence of King Alexander. Tents were erected for them on a hill near the river Rioni. Here they remained two days, and were supplied with a profusion of refreshments.

On the 23d of June the king directed houses to be assigned to the ambassadors in the city, and on the 25th they were admitted to an audience. Horses, whose saddles were overlaid with silver and the bridles with gold, were sent for the ambassadors; and people on foot came to carry the presents.

The ambassadors gave the sable-skins according to the inventory to be carried by the Georgians, Mamuk, Dschemaritz, and George Kanschoff, who were placed under their orders. The letter of the Zar was borne aloft before them by the interpreter. They themselves mounted on horseback. As they approached the tent of King Alexander, he sent to request them to halt for a few moments, as his wife and her ladies were sitting in other tents. These drew their curtains and surveyed the presents, the ambassadors and their retinue. Soon afterwards the king signified to them that they might come to his tent. When they had approached within about ten fathoms, cannon and small arms were fired from the towers of the city. The ambassadors were requested to alight. On this Zacharias the metropolitan, and

Nikifor abbot of Mount Golgatha in Jerusalem, came out of the tent to receive the ambassadors. They first inquired in the name of their sovereign concerning the health of the Zar, and then went before the ambassadors into the tent. The ambassadors bowed respectfully on entering. They made speeches to the king, in which they assured him, that their sovereign had graciously received his petitions for his powerful protection, as they were both of the same religion; that he had liberally entertained the king's ambassadors, whom he had sent back together with them, according to his wish, as the ambassadors of his Russian majesty, to see the country and witness the religious ceremonies of his subjects, and to concert in what manner and on what terms they were henceforth to enjoy his powerful protection. The Zar had furnished them with these credentials (which they delivered), that he (the king) might accredit them as plenipotentiaries. He might be assured that their monarch would protect him, his country and his people, against all enemies, and would not suffer any injury to be done him, if he would honestly fulfil the terms that should be agreed upon. In token of his friendship he had sent him seventy-nine parcels of prime sable-skins, which his majesty would be graciously pleased to accept, and in return continue faithful for ever to his Russian majesty without having recourse to other potentates. To conclude, they requested King Alexander to dispatch them without delay on their return to Russia.—The king listened to these addresses standing.

The ambassadors then delivered the sable-skins. The king received them with great joy, and desired the ambassadors to be seated. They, however, would not sit down, because they had not yet been permitted to kiss the king's hand. They informed him by their interpreter, that, agreeably to the commands of their sovereign, they could not comply with his majesty's desire till they had been allowed the favour of kissing his hand. On this the king sat down, and the ambassadors with their whole retinue kissed his hand. After this ceremony he invited the ambassadors to dinner. He then went out of the tent and ordered his attendants to conduct the ambassadors into the *cool room*, which was built of brick and covered with a roof. Here Nikifor abbot of Mount Golgatha, and some grandees of the court, bore them company. Soon afterwards the king sent to invite the ambassadors to table. They repaired to the dining-tent. The king directed them to be seated not far from him on his left hand, and the abbot of Mount Golgatha placed himself next to them. On the king's right hand, at a little distance, sat the *Katolikos* (patriarch) with the superior ecclesiastics, and the Bojars and Asnaurs (gentry) on either side, opposite to one another. The table-cloth laid for the king was of

damask, with gold stripes, on a carpet; for the Katolikos and the ambassadors of striped satin; for the superior clergy and Bojars of tafiety; and the gentry and officers of the king's court had red Russia-leather hides sewed together for table-cloths. The king and all the other guests sat cross-legged in the Persian fashion, but tables and benches were provided for the ambassadors. The entertainment was served up about two hours before dark. The *Stolniki* immediately poured out wine into goblets, which they set before the king and the rest of the company; and the king rose, together with the whole assembly, and gave his goblet to the *Katolikos* for his benediction; he pronounced a prayer over it, and returned it to the king. This done, the king said with a loud voice, "Since I am so fortunate as to find in Alexei Michailowitch, Zar and grand-prince of all Russia, a magnanimous and mighty protector, I am his servant for ever, and drink to his prosperity and long life." He emptied the goblet, held it up over his head, and then gave it filled to the *Katolikos* and the ambassadors; and after they had drunk, he again addressed the ambassadors in these words, "I and my whole people are for ever the vassals of your great monarch. We are at all times ready to shed our blood, nay even to sacrifice our lives in his defence." He then sat down with all the rest. Soon afterwards the company drank to the health of King Alexander, the *Katolikos*, the other ecclesiastics and the ambassadors standing, the Bojars and gentry kneeling upon one knee. The king and the Katolikos were served in gold dishes, from which the ambassadors likewise received their portions: all the rest ate out of silver. In like manner, the drink was brought in gold or silver vessels. When it began to be dark, lights were brought in large silver candlesticks, and the entertainment ended about three hours after sun-set. The king was in high spirits, and frequently launched out into praises of the Russian monarch. On rising from table he directed many of his nobles to attend the ambassadors to their horses, and then to escort them home.

On the 28th of June he sent horses for the two ambassadors, and desired to speak to them. They went immediately, and were again conducted into the *cool room*. He soon directed the ambassadors to be brought to his tent. There, in the presence of the Katolikos, the Bojars, and others, he said, "I have received with joy the presents and letter of your monarch, and know that I can give credit to you. Tell me, then, what further instructions you have?"

"The Zar Alexei, our sovereign," replied they, "has charged us to say to thee, King Alexander, that thou hadst signified by thy ambassadors thy desire to place thyself under his powerful protection. This he has most graciously granted thee; but it is necessary that thou shouldst thyself, with as many sons as thou hast, and

thy nearest relations, take the oath of fidelity in our presence, and promise that thou, thy sons, and posterity shall be for ever invariably devoted to him, and shall not have recourse to any other power. The oath which we have brought with us thou and thy sons must subscribe with your own hands, and set your seals to it. This will be a sure and pleasing pledge to our master."

While the ambassadors were speaking the king stood with his head uncovered. He then turned towards the image of the holy mother of God, made the sign of the cross, and said, " So long as I, Alexander, had heard nothing of the orthodox Moscovite empire, my kingdom was independent. I applied neither to the Turks, nor to the Persians, nor to the Chan of the Krym. But no sooner had I learned from my father-in-law Theimuras, that the Zar and grand-prince Alexei Michailowitsch reigned happily, and with unlimited power, over the great and mighty empire of Moscovy, and that his people were orthodox Christians like ourselves, than I expressed a wish to be taken under his powerful protection, and signified this to him by my ambassadors. Meanwhile I prayed incessantly to God to dispose the heart of your monarch to grant my request. As I have now the happiness to learn that my desire is fulfilled, myself and my people are completely subject to his sublime will. I am ready to take the oath of fidelity, and to bind myself to invariable devotion to him for ever. May the great God hear my prayer that your great Zar would assist and defend me against my bitter enemy and antagonist, my late vassal the Dadian, Prince Leonty, who has gone over to the darkness of the Mohammedan faith! For so great a favour the Lord of the universe will dispense to your Zar all happiness and blessing."

He then called the ambassadors to him, and told them privately to keep in readiness the form of the oath with which they had been furnished, as the will of the Russian Zar should be obeyed without delay. He afterwards dismissed them, and sent them provisions from his own table.

June 29th, he came to the city, sent horses for them, with an invitation to attend divine service in the cathedral church. As they entered they were directed to say their prayers, and then pay their respects to King Alexander, who was seated on a high place. They did so. The service was performed in the native language, exactly in the same manner as in the churches of Russia. When it was over the king invited them to dinner, at which the same ceremonies were observed as on the former occasion.

July 2d, the abbot of Golgatha came with a gentleman to the ambassadors, and said that King Alexander had charged him to go to the Dadian, Prince Leonty, to

propose to him to adjust his differences with King Alexander, and then to send ambassadors to the Russian monarch, to solicit of him the same favour as he had shown to King Alexander; and that he requested them to transmit some remonstrances by the abbot to the Dadian. The ambassadors replied that they had received no commands from their sovereign respecting the Dadian, and consequently could not send any message by the abbot. They promised him, however, that if he should succeed in reconciling the prince with the king, and the former should place himself under the protection of Russia, he (the abbot) should be rewarded by the Zar and grand-prince of all the Russias beyond his expectation.

July 6th, the king went to the town of Skalda. He sent to the ambassadors, desiring they would not think any thing of this, as public affairs obliged him to repair thither; adding, that in three days he would order them to be fetched, and would, during that interval, send for King Theimuras, that he might finish their business in his presence, and meanwhile they might remove to his palace in the town of Little Khuthais. The ambassadors did so on the 8th of July. The palace was an extensive edifice, with many spacious apartments, on the walls of which were painted the battles of Alexander's predecessors. Behind the palace was a large garden with many fruit-trees.

On the 13th, Zacharias the metropolitan brought this message: the king begged them not to be uneasy at his not having yet sent for them; he would do so as soon as his affairs permitted; meanwhile he proposed to them to see whatever was worthy of notice in the cities of Golethi and Great Khuthais. This proposal they accepted with great pleasure. They first rode to Golethi, a considerable place, containing many fine and superbly ornamented churches. Thence they proceeded to Great Khuthais, the capital and residence of the king; where they found many stone churches and palaces. Among the relics they particularly noticed a picture of the mother of God, painted, as they were assured, by St. Luke the evangelist. The Emperor Constantine is reported to have given it by way of blessing to his daughter on her marriage to Davit, king of Imerethi.

July 18th, two monks came from Mount Athos to Great Khuthais, to receive from the farmers the rents of their lands left by pious people to their convent in Imerethi. They related that they had been in the monastery of Chotei at Diana, where, from time immemorial, the shift of the immaculate mother of God has been preserved. It was brought thither by the librarian from Constantinople during the disturbances occasioned by the iconoclasts in the time of the Emperor Theophilus. Whether it was of cotton or muslin they could not positively say. It seemed to be

figured; but the ground was as white as sugar. They had taken the measure of this shift, and brought one folded in white paper to the ambassadors. They themselves carried similar ones on their heads under their caps.

July 20th, the king sent to desire the ambassadors to come to him at Skalda, as he wished to speak to them on important business. They set out immediately, and found tents erected for them near the city.

The 22d, they were again invited to dine with the king: this entertainment was exactly like the others, except that after the health of the Russian monarch, that of Joseph patriarch of Moscow was drunk, on the proposal of the Katolikos.

On the 27th the king sent Peschengey, his private secretary, to them. He informed them in the name of his master, that Turkish ambassadors had been to him, and informed him that the Venetians, Brabanters, and French had made war upon the Sultan; that King Alexander should not therefore, without the knowledge of the Sultan, enter into alliance with any one, or himself commit any hostilities on the Turkish frontiers. His reply was, that he had no intention of acting in a hostile manner against the territories of the Sultan; that he would not conclude an alliance with any Mohammedan court; for he would not submit to the commands of the Turkish Sultan, as he had the happiness to be under the powerful protection of the Zar and grand-prince of all Russia. The Turkish ambassadors had expressed some dissatisfaction at this answer, and were therefore dispatched again the same day, without being invited to table, or having any presents made them.

August 1st, the king sent word to the ambassadors to return to Khuthais, whither he would soon follow them.

On the 26th of August Lamkaz, the king's treasurer, came to inform them that he had been chosen by his master to go as ambassador to our monarch, together with Artemon the archimandrite; that the king designed to make them presents of horses, which were to be sent over the mountains before the snow fell, and then we and the ambassadors of King Alexander should follow.

We replied: "Your king talks of sending presents, and has not yet performed his promise, and taken the oath of fidelity in our presence. This conduct is by no means satisfactory. Whenever he shall have performed all that has been agreed upon, we are ready to obey his will in all points."

September 8th, the king came with his consort to Khuthais, and let us know that he was come to fulfil his promise. At the same time he sent the act of submission, drawn up in his own language, according to the form furnished by the ambassadors for our inspection. In it was written: "I, King Alexander, with my son Ba-

grat and brother Mamuk, my bojars and all my subjects, are the vassals of Alexei Michailowitsch, Zar and grand-prince of all the Russias, and of His Majesty's heirs, for ever and as long as the world shall endure."

September 14th, the king sent word to the ambassadors that he would this day complete the important business, and therefore desired their attendance in the convent of Zacharias the metropolitan. They accordingly went.

When divine service was over, the king commanded his confessor, Zacharias the metropolitan, to bring the cross into the middle of the church. It was held by an archimandrite. He called the ambassadors nearer, and said, "I have promised to take an oath of fidelity to Alexei Michailowitsch, the Zar and grand-prince of all Russia. Here are the two forms of the oath, one which ye brought with you from Moskwa, and the other as it is translated into our language. Let them be laid under the holy cross." The ambassadors did as he desired, and each held one. The king then proceeded: "I swear and kiss the holy cross upon it in the name of my son Bagrat and my brother Mamuk, that we, my bojars, clergy, gentry, all my subjects, and the whole kingdom of Imerethi, will be faithful servants and vassals to Alexei Michailowitsch, the great Zar and grand-prince of all Russia, and his heirs for ever." With these words he kissed the holy cross, raised his hands, and ejaculated with tears, "God grant my great master prosperity, long life, and victory over all his enemies!" He then commanded the clergy, the bojars, and gentry to take the oath in the same manner. At last he ordered the cross to be carried out before the convent, where the people also kissed it with joy, and prayed for the welfare of our great sovereign, for whom they were at all times ready to sacrifice their blood and their lives.

The dinner held at the residence of Zacharias the metropolitan was conducted exactly as on preceding occasions.

After the repast the king sent Peschengey, his private secretary, to the ambassadors with this message: that King Alexander had now complied with the desire of the Russian monarch, and taken the oath of allegiance; that he would therefore not detain them any longer, but dismiss them with honour whenever they pleased; and that carriages and attendants were quite ready, only the king wished to be apprized of the day on which they intended to depart.

The ambassadors answered, that the king had not yet fulfilled all his engagements; that he had yet to subscribe and set his seal to the written oaths, and to command his clergy and bojars to do the same. The king replied that he could not write, and would therefore make an impression with his seal-ring, but his clergy

would subscribe the instrument. The ambassadors requested to see his seal-ring. The king sent it to them by Peschengey, his private secretary. Upon it was a cross, and round that the name *Alexander*. The ambassadors were of opinion that it would not be proper to seal with this ring. The king then inquired what kind of a seal it ought to be; adding, that he would have a new one engraved. The ambassadors directed that the following words should be put upon it: "King Alexander, his brother Mamuk, his son Bagrat, and the whole Imerethian nation, are everlasting vassals of their monarch the Zar and grand-prince Alexei Michailowitsch."—These words were accordingly engraved.

September 23d, the king requested the ambassadors to allow their chaplain to perform mass in the convent of Zacharias the metropolitan. He himself and the superior clergy were present. They applauded the whole service with uplifted hands. "Truly," said they, "this is the genuine orthodox liturgy."

October 9th, Alexander invited the ambassadors to the cathedral church to set his seal to the oath, and cause it to be subscribed in their presence. After divine service this was done in the vestry. The king handed to the ambassadors the oaths signed and sealed. He then spoke aside with the ambassadors, requesting them to have the goodness to lay his petitions before their sovereign, to whom he was sending them back with his own envoys; namely, in the first place, he implored his aid and protection against the Dadian, Prince Leonty, who did him and his people all sorts of mischief; and who had sold many of his captive subjects to the Turks. His brother Mamuk and his son Bagrat were then held in captivity by him, the first as a prisoner of war; but the latter had been treacherously demanded as a hostage, with the promise of releasing Mamuk in his stead, but this had not been done. As soon as his brother and son should recover their liberty, he would send them to Moskwa to the monarch. Secondly, he had heard that the Russian Zar often took the diversion of hawking. Birds trained to that sport were sometimes sent as presents to the Turks and Persians; and Theimuras, his father-in-law, had also received them. He should not presume to ask such a gift of the Russian Zar, but the ambassadors might mention his wish. If the Zar should be pleased to send him one of his birds, he would carry it continually on his fist, and extol before every one the condescension of the sovereign of Russia. Thirdly, he entreated the Zar to have the goodness to give him some cannon, muskets, and powder. These needed to be brought no further than the frontiers of the Kabardian territories, whence he would have them transported over the mountains by his own people. Or the Zar might only send him cannon-founders, as he had brass and

copper enough in Imerethi. "And now, gentlemen," said he, "I wish you a safe return to your sovereign." With these words he made a low bow, and went into his palace. The ambassadors repaired to their habitations, whither the king sent them by his private secretary a statement of all his towns and convents, and the average number of all his subjects.

The ambassadors set out on the 10th of October from Imerethi, arrived without accident on the 26th of March in the following year at Astrachan, the 22d of July at Kasan, and on the 26th of July at Moskwa.

1667 to 1669.] The Zar Alexei Michailowitsch continued upon good terms with Persia; though the piracies committed by Stenka Rasin, the Cossack, on the Caspian Sea, and which began in 1667, threatened to disturb this harmony, till at length he was beaten, taken prisoner, and put to death in 1691.

Transactions in Georgia.

THE success of Schah Abbass against the Turks gave security to the kings of Georgia, who, according as it was their interest, sometimes betrayed Russia and at others Persia. The king of Kharthli, who had taken the oath of allegiance to the Zar Boris, was prevented by the death of the latter from concluding a projected matrimonial alliance between his house and that of the Russian sovereigns. Soon afterwards he was poisoned by the command of Schah Abbass, who, being apprized of the secret correspondence subsisting between the king of K'achethi and the Turks, sent his son Constantine with an army against him. The unnatural prince, having conquered his father, caused him to be put to death; but being himself defeated by the allied Georgian princes, he was obliged to take refuge among the Lesgians, with whose assistance he returned victoriously into his own country, which he laid waste with fire and sword. The Georgians were incessantly harassed by the Turks, Persians, and Lesgians; and Theimuras, grandson of the king of K'achethi, applied to the Zar Michael for protection for himself and his people against Schah Abbass. Michael actually sent an embassy to the latter, requesting him to desist from further hostilities; which he accordingly did. The king of K'achethi was reinstated in his dominions, to which in the year 1625 he added Kharthli, by a previous alliance with the family of the king of that country, who died without issue.

In 1634, Rostom, a Mohammedan, was raised to the throne of Kharthli. He and his son Davith took an oath of allegiance to Russia, on which the Zar Michael promised to assist him with troops against the Ckumücks, and to found a town in the mountains of Duschethi. In 1638 the Dadian of Mingrelia submitted with his country to the Russian sceptre.—In 1646 King Theimuras requested leave of the Zar Michael to send him one of his grandsons to Moskwa, and solicited the hand of one of his daughters for another. Permission was given him to settle with his whole family at Moskwa.—In 1653 his grandson Nicolai, with his mother, arrived in that capital. A Russian traveller named Ssuchanow, who was then in Georgia, extols the indulgence of King Rostom to the Christians, and asserts that the wife of this Mohammedan was of that persuasion. He further informs us, that the number of families in Kharthli might be estimated at 24,000, and in K'achethi at 20,000.—In 1653 Theimuras himself came to Moskwa, and Prince Nicolai, who, in consequence of the death of his son Luarssab, had become his successor, went in 1660 to Georgia. At Terki he received intelligence that the widow of Alexander, king of Imerethi, had caused the eyes of her son-in-law to be put out, and married the Georgian prince Wachtang; but that Prince Eristhawi, supported by Turkish troops, had taken them both prisoners, and banished them to the territories of the Dadian; and lastly, that Theimuras had been delivered up to the Schah of Persia. He therefore resolved to proceed to the country of the Dadian whose sovereign he was. In 1667 he again fled to Moskwa. Prince Bagrat, immediately after his return to Georgia, was seized at Kasbin and carried before the Schah. In 1658, Wachtang IV. mounted the throne of Kharthli and reigned over all Georgia, till in 1680 he was forced by the Persians and Turks to seek refuge in Russia. He received permission to settle at Terki, and in 1683 he arrived with his family at Moskwa.—In 1685, having been assured of the protection of the Zars Iwan and Peter Alexiewitsch, he quitted Moskwa, and in 1691 again took possession of the city of Khuthais, whence, however, he was soon driven by the Turks; upon which he returned to Moskwa, where he died in 1713.

Russia, after this event, continued to keep up a connection, liable to frequent interruptions, with Georgia, till in 1723 the Turks made this country a pachalik, and the following year Wachtang and his court came to Russia. The affairs of Georgia remained unsettled till in 1736 Thamas-Kuly-Chan ascended the throne of Persia, and made peace with that country. Theimuras, son of King Nicolai, was then made king, and reigned over Kharthli, K'achethi, and the two Tartarian districts of Bortschali and Qasachi.

Continuation of the History of Tscherkessia.

In 1705, Ckaplan-Gerai, Chan of the Krym, marched with a strong army against the Kabardians to reduce them again; for, after their relations with Russia had ceased, they had been under his dominion. He penetrated into the Kabardah, but was routed, and returned home with great loss.

Fifteen years later, in 1720, Ssa'adet-Gerai, Chan of the Krym, proceeded with 40,000 men against the Kabardians, requiring them to submit to him and to dwell under his dominion on the Ckuban; or, if they continued in their old habitations, to pay him tribute; and threatening, in case of refusal, to lay waste their country and to punish them severely. To these menaces the Kabardians replied, that their forefathers had never been under the authority of the Chans, and that they were resolved to follow their example and to remain faithful to Russia, whose subjects they considered themselves. On this the Chan destroyed several of their villages, and burned their standing corn and hay-stacks. The Kabardians thereupon sent Ssa'adet-Gerai Ssulthan, of the race of A'ly, to the Emperor Peter I. to implore his aid against their enemies. Peter gave orders to Prince Artemi Wolynski, governor of Astrachan, that in case the Chan of the Krym should again attack the Tscherkessians, he should send a few hundred Don and other Cossacks into the Kabardah to their assistance. These Cossacks, however, were directed not to make a common cause with the Tscherkessians if the latter were not attacked, but should themselves attempt to surprise the Krym and Ckuban Tartars, as the Turks might deem it a violation of the subsisting treaty. The governor of Astrachan was therefore only to take care to protect the Kabardians against hostile invasions, and to endeavour to reconcile them with their enemies.

In the following year, 1721, Prince Wolynski informed the College for Foreign Affairs, that the Chan had designed to invade the Kabardah, and he had therefore hastened, with part of the troops under his command, to the assistance of the Kabardians on the Terek; but the Chan, on receiving intelligence of his movements, had withdrawn. Thus were the Tscherkessians delivered from the dominion of the Krym.—Wolynski found means also to put an end to their internal dissensions; on which they again swore everlasting allegiance to Russia, and the princes as well as the principal Usdens were sent as hostages to Terki.

In 1729 the brothers of the Chan Mengli Gerai, named Bachti Gerai Ssulthan and Murad Gerai Ssulthan, entered the Kabardah with a powerful army in order

to reduce the Tscherkessians residing there. These people fled into the mountains, and fortified themselves in the narrow passes with stone walls, which are still denominated the Krymean. They again promised to pay tribute to the Tartars, brought them a great number of young females as a present, and on the day on which the peace was concluded they supplied them profusely with spirituous liquors. In the night, when the inebriated Tartars were fast asleep, the Tscherkessians surprised their camp, cut in pieces their two leaders, and put the whole army to the rout.

In a chronology of the sovereigns of the Krym, writtten in the Nogay-Tartar language, I find the following passage in confirmation of this statement:—"In the year 1141" (A. D. 1729) "Bachti Gerai Ssulthan and his brother Murad Gerai Saulthan became martyrs among the Tscherkessians in the Ckabartha on the 28th of the holy Ramadhan; and Mengli Gerai Ssulthan returned to the Krym."

CHAPTER XIX.

SURVEY OF THE RELATIONS OF RUSSIA WITH THE CAUCASUS AND GEORGIA.

SECOND EPOCH.

From the Expedition of Peter the First against Persia, to the Erection of the Fortress of Mosdok.

In the year 1717, Peter I. sent an embassy to Persia to Schah Hussein, and concluded a treaty of commerce with that monarch. His object was, to open for himself, by these means, a way to the East Indies. So early as the reign of the Zar Michael, in 1622, Russia had relations with the Chan of Chiwa, and in 1646 and 1675 couriers went on commercial business to Ssandshatsch and Awrengzeb. Though these advances had no further results, yet it is evident from official records that in 1696 Russia had traders in India, who carried on traffic with the natives. Peter I. also sent Prince Alexander Bekewitsch as ambassador to the Chan of Chiwa, and gave him a body of troops to seize the gold mines of that country; but the imprudence of the prince frustrated this plan, and his death and the total destruction of the corps placed under his command annihilated all hope of future advantages in that quarter. Other attempts proved equally unsuccessful.

The following year the emperor endeavoured to avail himself of the troubles in Persia to place the trade with that country on a firmer footing, and if possible to extend it to India. To this end he solicited the Schah to give orders that the commercial company at Isfahán should dispose of the surplus of its silk exclusively to the Russians; but as this company did not fulfil its engagements, the emperor withdrew its privileges, and held out encouragement to the formation of a Persian trading company in Russia.

In the same year a Lesgian insurgent, named Daud-beg, fell, in conjunction with others, upon the province of Schirwân, of which he made himself master, plundered the towns of Ckuba and Schamachi, and put to death all the merchants and traders, among whom were about 300 Russians. The loss sustained by the Russian commerce on this occasion amounted to near four millions of silver rubles. Though Peter had several times demanded compensation for this loss of the Schah, yet the

latter, who was himself in a critical situation, was unable to comply with this requisition. The prince of Ckandahar, named Mir-weiss, and after him his son Mir-Mahmud, entered Persia with their Aghuans, and at the gates of Isfahán summoned the Schah to surrender. In this extremity he sent three ambassadors to implore the aid of Russia.

On the 15th of June 1722, Peter I. arrived at Astrachan, and immediately published a manifesto in the Tartar, Turkish, and Persian languages, stating the reasons which compelled him to undertake an expedition to Persia. This manifesto was as follows:

"We Peter the First, by the grace of God Emperor of Russia and Autocrat of the Eastern and Western Kingdoms and Countries from West to South, Lord on Earth, Emperor of the Seas, and Sovereign of many other Regions and Lordships, and by virtue of our Imperial dignity Ruler, &c.

"To all persons under the authority and in the service of His Majesty the Most Serene, the Most Potent, the Most Happy, and the Most Formidable, our old good friend the Shah; to all honoured and respectable Sipasalars, Chans, Korbschizes, Agas over the Infantry, Topdschibaschas, Beglerbegs over the Army, Sultans, Vezirs, and other Commanders, Colonels, Captains, and Officers of the Troops; likewise to the reverend Teachers, Imams, Muazines, and other Ecclesiastics; also to the Magistrates of villages, their Merchants, Tradesmen, and Artisans, and all Subjects, of whatever nation or religion, our gracious Greeting.

"When this our Imperial Proclamation shall reach you, be it known to you, that in the year 1712 from the birth of our Saviour Jesus Christ, (that is, in the year 1124 of the Hegira,) Daud-Beg, governor of the Lesgian country and Surchai governor of the Kasi-Kumyk province, under the authority of His Majesty the Most Serene, the Most Potent, and Most Formidable Shah of Persia, our great friend and neighbour, assembled in those parts many evil-disposed and turbulent persons of different nations and rebelled against His said Majesty our friend the Shah, and likewise took by storm his town of Schamachi situated in the province of Schirwan, and not only killed many of the subjects of His Majesty our friend the Shah, but also most wantonly and inhumanly put to death such of our Russians as agreeably to treaties and ancient custom had removed thither for the sake of their trade, and seized their property and merchandize to the amount of four millions of rubles, and thus injured our empire, in violation of treaties and of the public peace.

"Although, by command of our Imperial Majesty, the governor of Astrachan has

been several times sent to the chiefs of these rebels and demanded satisfaction of them; nay, though we afterwards, on account of the interruption of our commerce, dispatched an ambassador with an amicable letter to our friend the Shah, and directed satisfaction to be demanded of the above-mentioned rebels: yet not the smallest compensation has hitherto been made, since his majesty the Shah, much as he may have desired to punish the rebels and thereby to give us satisfaction, has been prevented from doing it by his inability.

"As therefore our Russian nation has been injured and insulted by these villains and can obtain no reparation, we are compelled, after fervent prayer to our Lord God for victory, to march in person with our invincible army against the rebels, in full confidence that we shall bring to condign punishment those villains who have occasioned so much vexation and mischief to both parties, and do ourselves ample justice.

"For this reason we hereby give to all the commanders and subjects of our dear friend his majesty the most serene, most potent, and most formidable Shah, of whatever religion and nation they may be, Persians and foreigners (Adshem), Armenians, Georgians, and all others residing in these parts, our most gracious imperial assurance; and it is our fixed and sincere determination that not the slightest injury shall be done either to natives or foreigners in the above-mentioned provinces, and that no one shall harm their persons or their property, towns and villages; as we have most strictly forbidden our generals, officers, and other commanders, both of horse and foot, and the whole army in general, to do the least mischief to any individual; but should any of our people be convicted of the smallest misdemeanour, punishment and execution shall instantly follow. This however must be understood to depend on this condition, that ye remain quietly as befits friends, in your habitations, without removing your property. Should we find on the contrary that you take part with those atrocious robbers and supply them privately or publicly with money or provisions, or that, in spite of our gracious assurances, you quit your houses or villages, we shall be compelled to number you among our enemies, and to pursue you without mercy with fire and sword. You will then be put to death, and all your property given up to plunder. You, and you alone, will be to blame for this, and will have to answer for it at the second coming of the Lord our God.

"To those subjects of the Sublime Ottoman Porte residing in these provinces for the sake of trade or other purposes, we give, in addition to the treaties already concluded, by this our present imperial proclamation, a new and solemn assurance that when our troops have entered those countries they shall have nothing to fear,

but may continue to carry on their trade and other business without molestation as long as they conduct themselves peaceably. We have likewise, with a view to the security of your persons and property, given the strictest orders to our generals and other commanders to do not the slightest injury either to the persons or goods of traders resident on the part of the Sublime Porte in these provinces, if they only behave themselves peaceably; as the everlasting peace mutually concluded between our two courts requires; for our intention is no other than to maintain this everlasting peace (if it be the will of God) firm and inviolable, as our imperial conscience bears witness. We have not the least doubt that this friendship will likewise be kept up on the part of the Sublime Porte, and that it will duly fulfil its engagements.

"For these reasons we have caused this our imperial rescript to be printed, we have subscribed it with our own hand, and ordered it to be sent to you without loss of time and distributed among you, that ye may not have ignorance to plead in your excuse. Conduct yourselves accordingly. Meanwhile farewell. Given at Astrachan, June 15th, in the year 1722 from the birth of Christ."

On the 18th of July the emperor sailed from Astrachan with a fleet of 442 vessels, and at the head of an army of 22,000 regular troops and 5000 seamen. The whole of the force destined for this expedition is said to have amounted to 106,000 men, as it consisted of 22,000 infantry, 20,000 Cossacks, 30,000 Tartars, 20,000 Calmucks, 9,000 cavalry, 5,000 sailors: but this number seems to be exaggerated.

July 23d the emperor arrived at Terki, and soon after all the troops had landed the campaign was opened. The Schamchal of Tarku, named A'bdul Geray, who had been previously attached to the Russian interest, and Ssulthan Mahhmud of Axai, placed themselves under the protection of the emperor, to whom they rendered important service.

The first hostilities commenced at the fortified village of Endery or Andreewa, near which a Russian corps had to pass a narrow defile, where it was suddenly and unexpectedly attacked by the inhabitants. The Russians, however, at last made themselves masters of the village, which they destroyed, and took a considerable booty.

After leaving a Russian garrison in Tarku, the emperor directed his march to Derbend. On the way thither he was treacherously attacked by Ssulthan Mahhmud of Utemisch, in conjunction with the Usmei of the Ckara-Ckaitack, at the head of an army of 16,000 men; which, however, was defeated with the loss of 1000 killed. Utemisch, a place containing 500 houses, was plundered by the Russians and reduced to ashes.

On the 23d of August 1722, the emperor made his entry into Derbend, the Naip or governor of which had voluntarily surrendered the city.

The attempts to take Baku had not however proved so successful, and the emperor set out on his return to Astrachan at the beginning of September. On the way he laid the foundation of the fortress of Sswiätoi Krest, between the rivers Ssulak and Agrachan, twenty wersts from the sea. The garrison of Tarku, a thousand families from the Don and three hundred from the country of the Tscherkessians were sent thither to people it; but in 1728, when this fortress was evacuated, its inhabitants were removed to Kislar on the banks of the Terek. A party of 1000 Cossacks and 4000 Calmucks made another incursion into the territories of the Usmei and the Ssulthan of Utemisch, and carried off 350 of their subjects into captivity.

At length on the 4th of October the emperor again arrived at Astrachan. From this place he sent troops to Gilan to take the town of Rescht, seated on the shore of the Caspian Sea.

Mir-Mahhmud meanwhile continued to blockade Isfahán; the imbecile Thamasip was travelling about the country, and old Hhüssein at length resolved to surrender to the Aghuans. He nevertheless first sent Ismael Beg to the Emperor of Russia for the purpose of negotiating a defensive alliance, which was actually concluded in St. Petersburg.

Daud-beg and Ssurchai Chan, who had reduced all Schirwan, made offers of submission to the Porte. Mohammed Pascha therefore repaired to Astrachan to inform himself of the real views of the emperor, who declared that he was resolved to defend Persia, but yet not to act contrary to his treaties with the Porte. The Divan durst not act openly against Russia; Daud-beg was therefore driven away by the Turks, and the Ssurchai-Chan of the Ckassi Ckumücks filled his place.

In 1723 General Matuschkin was ordered to possess himself of the town of Baku; the direction of the military affairs in Persia was given to Admiral Apraxin, and Count Tolstoi was placed at the head of the diplomatic department.—The Wesir, who commanded in Rescht, collected an army of 15,000 men, with which he attacked Colonel Schipow, who was entrenched near that town, but lost 1000 of his troops; on which Schipow constructed a redoubt to keep the Persians in check.

The French ambassador at Constantinople persuaded the Divan, which was extremely jealous of the conquests of the Russians, to send an ambassador to the emperor, in order to obtain a decisive answer. To this mission an Agha was ap-

pointed, at whose departure the Turkish troops were already distributed for the defence of the frontiers.

Matuschkin meanwhile bombarded Baku, and was making preparations to storm the town, when, on the 26th of July, it opened its gates to him. On this he resigned his command to Prince Borjätinski, and on the 14th of August arrived at Astrachan.

It was required of the Persian ambassador, Issmael Beg, that the Persian court should not molest the Russians in the provinces occupied by them, or in the possession of Masanderan and Astrabad. It was moreover insisted that Schamachi, then in the hands of the Turks, should likewise be ceded to the Russians, as soon as it should be taken by them.—After these negotiations a treaty was concluded, by which Persia ceded Daghestan, Schirwan, Gilan, Masanderan, and Astrabad, to the emperor, and on the 12th of September Issmael Beg returned home.—At this time also a new commercial company was established on the Caspian Sea, but the extraordinary increase of the navigation upon it prevented the success of this institution.

Wachtang V, king of Georgia, settled at Astrachan.

The same year Colonel Simbulatow with a battalion took possession of Ssallian; but the then reigning Princess Chanum caused him and all his officers to be murdered at an entertainment, and the troops of this detachment returned to Baku.

On the recommendation of Captain Ssoimonow a fortress was afterwards erected in the vicinity of Ssallian, and garrisoned by 200 men under the command of a captain.

The peace between Russia and the Porte was concluded on the 12th of June 1724, and upon such terms as had been desired by both parties. Peter I. almost wholly relinquished his project of a trade to India. Rumjänzow was commissioned to determine the boundaries of Russia on the side of Persia, and sent as ambassador to Constantinople.

This year also the building of the new fortress of Ssswiätoi-Krest was finished.

The Armenians, who had attracted the notice of the emperor by their industry and activity, received permission to settle on the banks of the rivers Ssulak, Agrachan, and Terek.

Various disturbances and the artful intrigues of the Princess Chanum obliged Matuschkin to go by sea to Rescht; and the weak Shah of Persia annulled the treaty concluded by Issmael Beg, and sent 20,000 men against Russia; but they were thrice repulsed with great loss.

1725.] The Shamchal of Tarku, A'bdul Gerai, assembled 80,000 Daghestanians to besiege the fortress of Sswiätoi-Krest; but General Kropotow defeated him and destroyed Tarku. On this Peter I. abolished the dignity of Shamchal, and appointed that general to the government of the province.

1726.] Prince Dolgoruki was appointed commander in chief of the troops in Persia by the Empress Catharine I.

The following year General Rumjänzow, ambassador plenipotentiary at Constantinople, who was to determine the boundaries, drew up in conjunction with Derwisch Mahhmud Agha two papers, by which the village of Mabur, where the Araxes falls into the Ckur, was fixed upon as the centre of the boundaries of Russia, Persia and Turkey, and their respective limits were determined as follow:

Russian Boundaries.	*Persian.*	*Turkish.*
On this side of the Ckur, along the coast of the Caspian Sea to Dshawata and Mabur, like the Turkish boundary-line which runs along in the mountains. Beyond the Ckur, the provinces of Gilan, Masanderan and Astrabad, as far as the river Ossa.	The territories of Ardewil, Tawris, and the province of Chorassan.	The province of Adherbidshan, and beyond the Ckur, the towns of Ardabad, Tawris and Hhamadan, nearly as far as Kjermanschah.

The same year the Usmei of the Ckaitacks submitted to Russia.

1728.] The Shah Thamassip sent an ambassador to Russia with intelligence of the advantages which he had gained over the rebellious Aghuans, and to complain that this power and the Turks had been dividing his provinces between them. The issue of this embassy is not known.

1729 to 1732.] In these years General Lewaschow concluded a treaty of peace at Rescht with Eschreff, the leader of the rebellious Aghuans, according to which, Astrabad and Masanderan were to be restored, but the Russians were to retain their other conquests. It was, however, not ratified, and Thamass Ckuli Chan commanded Eschreff to be put to death.

About the time of the expedition of Peter I. against Persia, the celebrated Nadir Ckuli raised himself from the dust, and with a handful of men offered his service to the fugitive Shah Thamassip, whom he replaced on the throne, but left him

only the title of Shah, and governed in his name. He defeated the Turks, and endeavoured to come to a good understanding with Russia. In 1734 he declared Shah Thamassip unworthy of the throne, threw him into confinement, and made his son, Mirza Abass, Shah in his stead: this event was announced to the court of St. Petersburg by an embassy from Nadir.—Russia now [1735] renewed the treaty of Rescht, concluded in 1723, by which both powers engaged not to make any separate peace with the Turks.

1736.] Thamass Ckuli Chan acquainted the Russian court that he had succeeded Abass in the government by the title of Nadir Shah.

1738.] Nadir sent another embassy, and offered his mediation towards the adjustment of the differences between Russia and the Turks, with whom he had himself already made peace. Münich's successes contributed still more powerfully to facilitate this object, which was actually accomplished at Belgrade in the following year, 1739. By this treaty the two Kabardahs were declared independent, in order to serve as a barrier to Russia. It was likewise stipulated that she should have no fleet in the sea of Sabache (Asow). This peace, so disadvantageous, and so little corresponding with the success of the Russian arms, authorizes the conjecture that the proffered mediation of the French ambassador at Constantinople was not quite sincere. The political errors committed during the reign of the Empress Elizabeth occasioned the Kabardians to join the Tartars, and even to embrace the Mohammedan faith.

1741.] After Nadir Shah had conquered India, he sent a numerous and magnificent embassy to Russia with very rich presents, as a token of his ardent wish to keep up the old relations of friendship with that empire. On his return commotions broke out in Daghestan, and the incessant incursions of the Lesgians into Georgia obliged the Shah to have recourse to severe measures against Daghestan. The following year (1742) General Tarakanow was ordered, in case the Shah should advance further, to oppose force with force, and to proceed against him as an enemy.

1745.] Five hordes of Turkmans solicited to be admitted Russian subjects; their petition was granted (1746) on condition that they should escort the merchants going to Bucharia and Chiwa, and in future refrain from all hostilities against Russia.

1747.] On receiving intelligence of the assassination of Nadir Shah in Chorassan, admiral Prince Golizin, who was proceeding as ambassador to Persia, returned to Astrachan.

In 1742, the Georgian archbishop Jossiaf, and Nicolai archimandrite of the Spasski convent at Moskwa, delivered to Her Majesty Jelisawet Petrowna a memorial to the following effect:—"The Ossetians, a nation abounding in gold and silver, inhabiting the Caucasian mountains, and, since the destruction of the Georgian states by the Persians and Turks, subject to no master, formerly professed Christianity, but have since that time relapsed into Paganism. Travellers who have passed through their country report that they are desirous of again embracing the Christian faith. It is not right, therefore, to leave them in darkness; and it is extremely probable that, if orthodox teachers were sent among them, they would very soon be brought back into the right way."

After this memorial had been submitted to the directing senate and the holy synod, it was determined in 1745 that the archimandrite Pachomii, the abbots Christopher and Nicolai, and the monk Jefrem should be sent to this nation of the Ossetians for the purpose of propagating the Christian religion. Those persons actually went: they began the same year to build a church dedicated to the Revelation of the Lord, and led back these unbelievers to the true faith. They advised them also, in order to secure themselves from the attacks of the Kabardians and Tschetschenzes, to declare themselves Russian subjects. This counsel was adopted and carried into execution in 1748 by Tesbi, Amistala, Gutschi, Gasi and Masi, elders of the Kurat and Tschim.

1752.] The Ossetian committee for the propagation of Christianity in Ossetia, consisting of Russian ecclesiastics, was instituted.

1756.] The Aghuan Sserdar Asad-Chan defeated Amir-Ghini-Chan, governor of Rescht, and took that town.—With him were the two kings of Georgia, Theimuras and his son Irak'li (Heraclius). Nadir, whom they accompanied to India, had, to reward their valour, made the former King of Kharthli and the latter King of K'achethi. These two princes in 1752 solicited the aid of Russia against the mountaineers.

1760.] Irak'li drove his father out of the country, and seated himself upon the throne. Theimuras went in 1762 to Astrachan, where he died.

CHAPTER XX.

SURVEY OF THE RELATIONS OF RUSSIA WITH THE CAUCASUS AND GEORGIA.

THIRD EPOCH.

From the Erection of the Fortress of Mosdok to the Death of Prince Zizianow, in the Year 1805.

1759.] KURGOK KANTSCHIOKIN, prince of the Little Kabardah, who had embraced Christianity, settled on the banks of the Terek, near the present Mosdok.

1762.] The pecuniary advantages granted to such of the mountaineers as embraced Christianity produced a very good effect. The following year, the foundations of the fortress of Mosdok were laid, after the above-mentioned Tscherkessian prince Kurgok, who had been baptized at St. Petersburg, had ceded the ground for the purpose.

1764.] Two hundred persons of both sexes came to Mosdok to be baptized. The Kabardians, who were displeased to find this fortress become an asylum for their fugitive subjects, were split into two parties, the one favourable, the other hostile, to Russia, and sent one of their number to St. Petersburg to require the demolition of the fortress of Mosdok, the removal of the colony, and a compensation in money for their emigrant subjects. The result of this mission is unknown.

1765.] The Kabardians and Ckubanians were suspected of having plundered a Russian caravan, and satisfaction was demanded of the Chan of the Krym.

1766.] The Porte indemnified the sufferers for their loss.

1767.] The inhabitants of the Ckuban invited the Nogay Tartars to remove to their country; but the project was discovered in time, and many of the Tartars implicated in it were exiled to Orenburg.

1768.] This year precautions were taken against the Ckubanians, as it had been resolved to declare war against the Turks.

1769.] General von Medem*, who was appointed commander in chief in the Kabardah, at the same time received orders to act offensively. It was discovered that the Kabardians cherished the wish of being independent without joining any

* This extraordinary man rendered himself so terrible to all the Caucasians, that, to frighten crying children, they still say: "The deaf general is coming."—Medem was hard of hearing. *Travels of Count J. Potocki.*

party. Mineralogists were sent to Kislar to explore the productions of those parts. The Kists were desirous of embracing Christianity, and several chiefs of small tribes offered Russia their services in searching for silver and lead ores; but the incessant wars in these countries rendered the working of them impracticable, and all that could be done was to procure accurate accounts of the places where they had been discovered.

Before General von Medem took the command, the lieutenant of the Chan of the Calmucks, named Ubaschi, had crossed the Wolga with 20,000 of his people, and on the 29th of April totally defeated the Kabardians, who had united with the inhabitants of the Ckuban. Here it is necessary to observe, that the Tartars on the Ckuban, called Ssulthan Aul, had so early as 1736 placed themselves under the protection of Russia, but had in 1742 again fled beyond the Ckuban. Von Medem, in conjunction with Ubaschi, hereupon crossed the Ckuban, and in an incessant series of engagements, from the 1st to the 5th of May, was uniformly victorious. On the other side, Major Rataliew, at the head of a small detachment, was opposed to the Kabardians, whom he compelled to declare themselves subjects of Russia. This was also the case with the Alti Kessek Abasses.

General Medem had likewise been directed to gain over the Nekrassow Cossacks to the Russian interest; but the messenger sent to them for that purpose with a letter from the general could not prevail upon them to submit.

Captain Hakebusch procured by his intrigues a firman of the Grand Signor authorising the Kabardians to rise against Russia. They were divided into two parts; one of which, under Prince Atashuka, continued faithful; while the other, headed by four princes, espoused the cause of the Ckubanians; but they were compelled to reunite, and to take the oath of allegiance to Russia.

The Beschilbai, a Tscherkessian tribe beyond the Ckuban, expressed a wish to submit, but no further proceedings took place.

In this year Colonel Schergilow, who had been sent for the purpose of making various arrangements among the Tschetschenzes, was put to death by them. They were chastised in their own places of abode, and several of their villages destroyed.

General von Medem was prevented from executing his intention of again marching against the Ckubanians, because Ubaschi apprehended that the settlements of the Calmucks would be attacked by the Kirgises, and took the field against the latter.

1770.] Both divisions of the Kabardian nation sent deputies to St. Petersburg, and renewed the requisition made in 1764 by Kaituck Kassimow respecting the evacuation of the fortress of Mosdok.

At the same time the Turks succeeded, by means of bribes and remonstrances, in prevailing upon the Kabardians to rebel once more against Russia; so that Major Taganow, who was among them, could not without difficulty reach Mosdok, whither he repaired as to a place of security. The slave-dealers in the Krym were also commanded to avoid all intercourse with Daghestan and the country of the Ckumücks.

Josept-Abaifirt, the Ossetian, who brought letters to Solomon king of Imerethi, was killed, on his return, by the Kabardians.

The Ckubanians attacked General von Medem, who, though he defeated them at the head of 2000 men, could not follow up his advantage on account of the mountainous nature of the country. The Prince of the Little Kabardah was allowed, for the services which he rendered to the Russians, a yearly pension of from 50 to 100 rubles (silver).

The regulations respecting Kabardian fugitives, adopted in 1771, contained the following points:

1. Persons of the lowest rank shall not be admitted.

2. For every run-away of the Christian religion, of either sex, 50 rubles (silver) shall be paid.

3. For Ckumücks, 25 rubles (silver).

4. Kabardian Usdens shall not be admitted, except on condition of their renouncing all claim to their property.

5. These regulations relate solely to the Christian slaves purchased by the Kabardians. Such as have been bought by inhabitants of Mosdok and Kislar are excluded from these provisions.

Information was received that the Kabardians were preparing to attack Kislar and Mosdok. General Totleben penetrated into Georgia and Imerethi, dispossessed the Turks of the fortresses of Khuthais and Bagdatschick, and thus delivered Solomon king of Imerethi and the Kazia-Dadian of Mingrelia from the Turkish yoke.

1772.] The proclamation sent to the Kabardians divided the minds of those people; for they, after the example of the Calmucks, imagined that Russia sought to oppress all who submitted to her authority.

On the side of the Ckuban arrangements were made to check a contagious disease which had broken out there.

In the month of October, Professor Güldenstädt was detained on his return from Georgia by Stephen Zminda of the Tagaurian Ossetes, and set at liberty by

a detachment of 600 men sent by General von Medem, after the chiefs of these Ossetes had received presents to the amount of about 30 rubles (silver). On this occasion the Tagaurians were obliged to give fresh hostages instead of such as had died at Kislar.

1773.] The following year the Ingusches abandoned the cause of the Kabardians, and applied to General von Medem for protection against them, observing, at the same time, that it was only by compulsion they had been their subjects.

In 1772 some Kabardians, who were hunting, were detained by a Russian patrole. This circumstance, added to all the preceding events, exasperated them in the highest degree. They swore, unless their countrymen were set at liberty, to employ all the means that God gives to the innocent to deliver their country from the Russian yoke.

The Kabardian Usden Isslam-Gerai, of the tribe of Babagi*, acquainted the governor of Mosdok with the intention of the Nekrasow Cossacks to embrace the Mohammedan faith.

The Kabardians sent deputies into the Little Kabardah to the Tschetschenzes, to Axai, Endery, Kostek, and Tarku, to excite insurrections against the Russians. Hereupon orders were issued to treat them with mildness.

Several tribes united with the Kabardians, and with a force of 25,000 men compelled General von Medem, whose numbers were far inferior, to deliver up the twelve prisoners. They did not however succeed in their endeavours to bring over the Nogay Tartars to their side. Emissaries were likewise sent into the mountains by the Turks, and assembled the Kabardians in council beyond the Ckuban. The intelligence of the approach of a Turkish army, which the Russians were reported to have beaten on the Danube and in the Krym, excited commotions among the Tartars and Kabardians. Twenty-four thousand Turks crossed the Ckuban and proceeded to Thaman; and many of the mountain-tribes, with the exception of the Kabardians, elected a relation of the Chan of the Krym, as a branch of the house of Dshingis Chan, for their Ssera'sskjer. About the same time the Chan of the Awarians raised 30,000 men, and marched to Achalziche and Georgia to support the Turks.

1774.] As there was reason to doubt the fidelity of the Grebensk Cossacks, General von Medem resolved to employ them solely in their own country, because they could not help defending themselves there in case they should be attacked. The Kabardians, meanwhile, continued their incursions.

* Constantine's *Papagi?* See p. 82.

Major von Krüdner was dispatched with a sufficient force to secure the Turkish emissaries and their papers; he took four of them, among whom was a relation of the Chan of the Krym named Schirin-kay. Krüdner carried them off through a numerous body of Kabardians, who made incessant attacks upon him, but were invariably repulsed. These deputies, on their examination, reported that Dewlet-Gerai, Chan of the Krym, was at Thaman at the head of 8000 Turks, to support the insurgent mountaineers and Kabardians. This corps accordingly appeared on the Malka, accompanied by all the Ckubanian and other tribes. Each of them formed a distinct body, and separately tried its luck before the walls of Mosdok; but so judiciously were measures taken there, that all their attempts upon the place proved abortive.

The chiefs of the Tscherkessians in the Great and Little Kabardah had already joined the Turkish party, when Major von Krüdner, at the head of 1356 men, was dispatched, at their solicitation, to protect them against the Turks: he therefore returned without attempting any thing.

Artemy the hermit was the person through whose influence the Turks endeavoured to withdraw the Grebensk Cossacks from the authority of Russia.

On the death of their prince, Aly Ssulthan, the Tschetschenzes commenced hostilities against the Russians.

Dewlet Gerai, Chan of the Krym, relinquished the command to Kalga-Ssulthan, who on the 10th of June appeared in the vicinity of Mosdok. He ventured not, however, to attempt any thing of importance, but contented himself with taking a courier sent to Krüdner, and some other persons whom he fell in with. The following day he attacked the Cossack *Stanitza* Naûr, but lost 800 men; and among the slain was also Kortschock (Kurgok), of the family of Tatarchan. After this disaster he again withdrew to the banks of the Kura. This attempt on Naûr evinced the injustice of the suspicions entertained respecting the Grebensk Cossacks, who highly distinguished themselves on the occasion.

On the 13th of June the Tschetschenzes ventured to make an attack, but lost 70 men.

June the 17th, von Medem hastened to the assistance of the Kabardians, who had remained true to their allegiance.

By the treaty of Kütschük Kainardshi, concluded in 1774, the two Kabardahs were declared dependent on Russia. This treaty was read before a general assembly of their princes; but one of them, Chammursa Arslanbek, rose, and declared that he would not acknowledge the authority of Russia till it was ratified by the Chan of the Krym.

In this year the Chan of Gilan, named Hhida'et-Chan, built three ships in the harbour of Ensili, which occasioned a strict prohibition to export materials for ship-building to Persia.

In 1775 General von Medem reported that Dewlet Gerai, Chan of the Krym, was employing all possible means to persuade the Kabardians to revolt, and had sent Ckasbulat, his secretary, to the Tscherkessians, to represent to them that they were subjects of the Krym and not of the Russians. These people themselves preferred the authority of the Krym, conceiving that through it they were most likely to attain their former independence. At the same time von Medem stated that he had not troops sufficient to keep them in subjection by force.

Two years afterwards the rebellious Kabardians sent a messenger to the Sserä'sskjer of the Ckuban to solicit succours, which he refused, and by threats occasioned the majority of their princes to return to their duty. They again swore allegiance to Russia, and were restored to the privileges granted to them in 1769. Hostages were demanded of the Great Kabardah only, as the unequivocal good conduct of the inhabitants of the Little Kabardah rendered that precaution unnecessary.

General von Medem gave orders, that in future every mountaineer who should remove to the Russian settlements for the purpose of embracing Christianity, should make protestation that he had not committed any crime in his native country.

Major von Krüdner was sent with a light detachment to Derbend, probably to chastise the Usmei of the Ckara Ckaitaeks. Though the occasion of this measure is not precisely known, yet it seems to have been as follows:—In 1776, a Russian merchant vessel, valued at 700,000 rubles, was plundered not far from Derbend by Fethh-A'ly-Chan. Some Russian officers were sent to this Chan to demand an indemnification, after it had been ascertained that the owner's loss amounted to 500,000 rubles. Major Fromhold was directed to withdraw the Russian troops from Derbend; and when the Chan opposed this step, the displeasure of Her Majesty the Empress was announced to him. On this occasion the Schamchal of Tarku proved, by the services which he rendered, how strongly he was attached to Russia.

General von Medem, meanwhile, received orders to resign the chief command to Major-general von Jacoby, and to take his trial before a court-martial. Jacoby was at the same time appointed governor-general of Astrachan, and directed to secure the Caucasian line by a series of fortifications, in the following manner:

1. The fortress of Jekaterinograd was erected on the left bank of the Malka, 12 wersts from its conflux with the Terek, and 35 from Mosdok.

2. Pawloskaja, 45 wersts from the preceding, on the south side of the Kura.

3. Mariiskaja, on the Saluka, 12 wersts from Pawloskaja.

4. Georgiewskaja, on the left bank of the Podkumka, 15 wersts from the preceding.

5. Andrejewskaja, 35 wersts from Georgiewskaja, on the north bank of the Donghusly (now abandoned).

6. Alexandrow, 15 wersts from the foregoing, on the left of the Donghusly.

7. Stawropol, 65 wersts from the preceding, on the left of the sources of the Atschile.

8. Ssewernaja, between the two last, 15 wersts from Alexandrow, on the left of the Kalauss.

9. To establish a free communication between the Don and the line, the fortress of Mosskowskaja was constructed, 30 wersts from Stawropol; and

10. Donskaja, 18 wersts more to the northward on the Taschle.

In order to form a communication between the Terek and Ckuban, two redoubts were thrown up at the extremity of the woody mountain-tract Scheb-ckaragatsch; and a third, Pawloskaja, 90 wersts from Stawropol on the Ckuban.

The redoubt of Meriamskaja, 75 wersts from the latter.

Kopylskaja, 75 wersts further, and five from the northern arm of the Ckuban; and lastly,

Eyskaja, 150 wersts to the right of the river Eja, and 80 from Asow.

11. The Upper Ckuban was moreover secured in a better manner by the fortress of Constantinogorsk, 40 wersts from Georgiewsk, on the bank of the Podkumka. This was followed by the redoubts of Pregradnoi-Stan, Protschnoi-Okop, and Zaryzinskoi on the heights of the Ckuban.

12. Lastly, this line terminated on the west, at the influx of the Laba into the Ckuban, with the fortress of Usst-Labinskaja; and on the removal of the Cossacks from the Black Sea, this country was strengthened by many other fortresses and redoubts as far as Thaman, which are mentioned in the description of the Ckuban.

The frequent disturbances in these parts, and the oppressions of the Chan of the Krym in 1764, had impeded the propagation of Christianity in Kabardia and Ossetia, and obliged the Russian missionaries to quit those provinces; so that since 1769 their labours had been completely suspended. In 1765 two Capuchin missionaries appeared in Ossetia; but in consequence of the precautions that were adopted, their zeal met with little encouragement, and they soon quitted the

country.—Though the Ossetian Commission had, according to their report, baptized 2085 persons of both sexes from 1746 to 1764, yet the Bishop of Astrachan remarked that, owing to the negligence of the clergy, Christianity was still in a very languishing state in Ossetia.—In 1764, a school for the instruction of the children of the mountaineers was founded at Mosdok, but it was badly managed; and through the intrigues of the ecclesiastics the interests of the Christian religion, and the business of education, were more and more neglected. This occasioned an Imperial decree to be issued, directing a reformation of the whole system.

The inhabitants of the Kabardahs petitioned to be received under the dominion of Russia, that they might escape the oppressions of their princes; but their request was refused.

In the same year an ordinance of the College of War commanded measures to be taken for securing the countries bordering on the Don against the inroads of the Nogays; and General Jacoby accordingly repaired thither. Meanwhile (1779) 3000 Kabardians prepared to attack the fortress of Pawloskaja, but retreated on the approach of the Russian troops.

In 1778, Kassi-Gerai-Ssulthan, Sserä'sskjer of the people of the Ckuban, offered his services, the value of which was apparent, to the Russians, and declared himself and his whole family vassals of the Empire. (His nephew, Mingli Gerai, is still, with the rank of major-general, in the Russian service.)

Lieutenant Taganow reported that Turkish vessels with troops were assembling in the harbour of Dsugotschuckcka'lah.

The Wakil of Persia sent presents to the Usmei of the Ckara-Ckaitacks, to induce him to place Prince Alexander on the throne of Georgia; but all his efforts proved unsuccessful.

The Turkish troops that had disembarked at Dsugotschuckcka'lah, marched thence to the Krym, by which tranquillity was restored.

About this time Irak'li (Heraclius) King of Georgia sent deputies to the Kabardians, who had often served him as mercenaries against the Persians and Turks, to propose to them to quit their country and settle in Georgia, where he would assign them the provinces of Ssomchethi and Thrialethi: but three of these deputies were discovered and imprisoned at Mosdok*.

* Some Georgians, who then resided at the court of King Irak'li, have given me a very different account of this affair; for, according to their statement, it was the Kabardians who solicited permission of Irak'li to settle with their whole nation in the provinces of Ssomchethi and Thrialethi, and

1779.] In the following year the Kabardians still continued mutinous, and declared that they had never been subjects of Russia. They were however compelled by General von Jacoby to acknowledge her supremacy, after both Kabardahs had in several engagements lost 3000 men; on which they swore inviolable fidelity. At this time it was determined that the river Malka should be the boundary of their territories, and the losses which the Russian subjects sustained by their commotions were estimated and indemnified by them.

Lieutenant-colonel Ssaweliew executed the orders which he had received to conduct the inhabitants of the Little Kabardah back to their ancient abodes, and to exact from them the oath of allegiance.

The Chan of Baku laid an embargo on all Russian ships and merchandize at that place, and did not release them till General von Jacoby had restored a child which the Lesgians had stolen from Baku, and sold at Astrachan. About this period the Russian trade with Persia was not very flourishing, and the relations with that country during the anarchy which followed the death of Nadir Shah were extremely precarious.

In the spring of 1781 a Russian officer, who had previously performed several tours in the Caucasian mountains, was sent with a guard of Cossacks to survey the central regions of the Caucasus, especially the roads to Georgia and Imerethi, to project a military and geographical map of the country, to persuade the mountaineers to settle in the plains (*steppes*), and to make researches respecting the mineral productions.

This useful man, whose name is unfortunately unknown, not only drew up a highly instructive account of his expedition, but also reconciled the Badillathé, a noble family of the Ossetian tribe Dugor, with which they had been ten years at variance, and persuaded both to submit to Russia; by which a free and hitherto unknown communication with Imerethi through the mountains was established. The treaty concluded with them on this occasion is as follows:

1. A general oath of allegiance to Russia shall be taken.

2. All the Dugorians made slaves in the time of the Badillathé, now living, shall

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promised, in return, to supply him with auxiliaries against all his enemies. A council was held at Tiflis to consider of this proposal; but it was not deemed prudent to give up those frontier provinces to Sunnite Mohammedans, and consequently professors of the same religion as the Turks. The king therefore replied that it was not in his power to comply with their desire, as he could not, consistently with his treaties and his alliance with Russia, encourage the desertion of any of her vassals. Since that time the Kabardians are reported never to have sent auxiliaries to Georgia.

be released, and all lands unjustly taken possession of since the time of their fathers shall be restored. All cattle and arms detained by force, wherever they may be found, shall be delivered up.

3. The tribute due to the Badillathé shall in future be paid according to ancient custom, and more precisely determined.

4. The Thumâ* (natural children of the Badillathé) shall in future be independent of the Badillathé, and enjoy equal rights with the people and elders of the Dugores.

5. The Badillathé shall not demand any tribute of their villages till the punctual fulfilment of the conditions agreed upon; but after their fulfilment they shall be entitled to their ancient prerogatives.

6. A Badillath and two elders from each village shall go to the Russian commander-in-chief to procure the ratification of this agreement.

7. Till then, all the Badillathé and the elders of some thirty villages of Dugor shall swear to observe this agreement, and, instead of subscribing, press their fingers underneath it.

The Kings Irak'li (Heraclius) of Georgia and Solomon of Imerethi perceived the necessity of placing themselves under the protection of such a power as Russia, and the former sent Prince Gurasewan Tschawdschewadsi to negotiate a treaty, which was concluded on the 24th of July 1783. By this treaty Irak'li declared himself under the protection of Russia; and it was stipulated that the Georgian monarchs should in future be confirmed by the Russian sovereign, who promised to defend them from all hostile attacks, and was to keep a resident agent at Tiflis.

1785.] Two years afterwards, General Paul Saergeitsch Potemkin was sent to deliver the ratification of this treaty and the royal insignia to the King of Georgia. Advantage was taken of this embassy to construct a causeway over the Caucasus, which, while it subsisted, kept the Ossetians in such order, that, for a small gratuity, they would safely escort travellers through their country. It has since been suffered to go to decay.

The Porte† could not view with indifference this extension of the dominions of Russia, and determined to disturb her power in Asia before an open rupture should

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* *Thuma* is a Tartar term.

† According to verbal information from Constantinople, the then Grand Weir Hallim Pascha contrived this whole business unknown to the Porte, and supplied the insurgent mountaineers at his own expense with arms and ammunition.

take place. The title of Chalifeh, which gives the Turkish emperor the supremacy over all Mosslemin, was to furnish the means of annoyance; and for the execution of this project was selected a Derwisch, named Scheich Manzur*, who, under the mask of the most rigid virtue, and the greatest intolerance against Christianity, became eminent in the mountains among the Tschetschenzes. His real name was Mohhammed: from his infancy he had manifested a gloomy, melancholy disposition; but at the same time he possessed so retentive a memory, that he knew the whole Ckuran and twenty thousand other religious verses by heart. With this not mean intellectual capacity he united rigid morality, which he exercised for the sole benefit of the people of the Caucasus, preventing their internal dissensions, exhorting them to harmony, and the proper application of their great power, which consisted in mutual concord, and could not fail to be truly formidable to their infidel neighbours the Russians.

Encouraged by the promises of the Turks he strove, by incessantly going about and haranguing the people, to rekindle and strengthen the ancient antipathy of the Caucasians to Russia; and by the austerity of his manners, and his total disregard of personal interest, he every where gained the highest respect. Milk and bread were his only food: and whenever he returned from plunder he divided his portion among the sick and the necessitous. This conduct he continued to pursue when presents poured in upon him from all quarters. His fame was, as usual in such cases, increased by fabrications, and extended to the remotest parts. The Turkish emissaries persuaded Mohhammed to set up for a prophet; they declared him such before the people, who had already begun to think so of themselves; and many, in letters of thanks couched in terms of the most humble submission, confirmed the unparalleled miracles wrought by the power of his prayers in different places. The Ckümück princes of Enderi sent him, out of gratitude, a horn seal, with this lofty inscription: *The Victorious, the Chief of the Scheichs Mohhammed Manzur* 1199, (corresponding with A.D. 1784.) On another, reported to have fallen from heaven, he was called *Imam Manzur*, as though he had actually been the great Prophet whose coming is expected by all the Mohammedans. Hermits celebrated for piety, but purchased with bribes, came from the remotest parts to see and to salute this extraordinary man. They showed him the passage in their religious books in which he was mentioned, and where it was expressly said that Mohhammed Manzur

* It has been asserted on the Caucasian Line that Scheich Manzur was an European; but this is extremely improbable.

would come from the Caucasus, that he would be thirty years old, and of a fine wheat-coloured complexion. They read to him the repeated assurance that foreign nations would first call him Manzur, and would invite him to restore the general peace of the Caucasus, and to exterminate the infidel enemies bordering upon it. They finally asserted that the last times were near at hand, and that he was that very promised Imam Manzur, by whom the true faith was to be preached to the whole world.

Mohhammed's brain was turned by the prophecies which were partly accomplished, and partly about to be fulfilled: he actually considered himself the person whom he was asserted to be, assumed the name of Scheich Manzur, and sent letters of invitation to all the Caucasian princes, requiring their assistance, and specifying the number of soldiers they were to furnish.

Colonel Pierri was sent with a strong corps to put a stop to these proceedings, and secure the person of the prophet; but the mountaineers fell upon him in a narrow defile, and cut him and the greatest part of his troops in pieces. Lieutenant-colonel Tamara alone escaped with his detachment, which had not been in the action. This success inflamed the minds of the Caucasians still more, and augmented the power and influence of the Scheich. At the commencement of the war with the Turks both the Kabardahs had revolted from Russia; other tribes joined them, made incursions in our territory; and Scheich Manzur, with 10,000 Tschetschenzes, attempted to take Kislar, but was repulsed with great loss by the Dalmatian Count Woinowitsch. On this he marched to Naur, whose little garrison, composed of Wolga Cossacks, assisted by the old men and the women, opposed an almost incredible resistance, and frustrated his design. The Empress Catherine was so highly pleased with the intrepidity of these female Cossacks, that she settled on them pensions for ever.

In the engagements with the Russians Scheich Manzur employed with considerable advantage a moveable breast-work composed of fascines placed on the wheels of Tartar carriages, which his soldiers pushed along before them.

In 1789, Bathal Pascha landed with Turkish troops in the neighbourhood of the Ckuban, but was defeated and taken prisoner by General Hermann. This event gave a check to the mountaineers. In order to produce a still stronger effect, and to quell the continual disturbances, it was deemed necessary to take the Turkish town and fortress of Anapa, situated on the Black Sea; but the first attempt in 1790 failed, and it was not till the following year that Lieutenant-general von Gudowitsch stormed the place, and took in it Sheich Manzur, who was sent prisoner

to Schlüsselburg. With him expired the spirit of rebellion among the mountaineers, and the fifth and sixth article of the treaty concluded with the Porte confirmed the dominion of Russia over the Caucasus more completely than ever. The cabinet of St. Petersburg now strove, by means of more judicious regulations, to produce order and attachment among these tribes, as is demonstrated by the following instructions, which, while they display the views of the great Empress, at the same time elucidate various recent occurrences.

INSTRUCTIONS TO LIEUTENANT-GENERAL POTEMKIN,

Dated 9th May 1785.

1. A Greek church shall be built in the fortress at the entrance of the Caucasus (Wladikawkas), and the Ossetian Commission removed to Georgiewsk.

2. A causeway shall be carried over the Caucasus to Tiflis*.

3. Information must be procured, and researches made, respecting the ores in the mountains.

4. A school shall be founded at Jekaterinograd for the mountaineers.

5. And another for such as learn the Asiatic languages.

6. All means must be tried to establish a good understanding between the mountaineers and the Russians.

7. Encouragement must be given to the Calmucks to settle in towns and villages.

8. A dock-yard shall be constructed at Astrachan.

9. An Asiatic school shall be founded there also.

10. Towns must occasionally be built in the neighbourhood of the mountaineers, to bring about a traffic with them.

INSTRUCTIONS TO FIELD-MARSHAL PRINCE POTEMKIN THE TAURIAN,

Dated 26th August 1786.

1. Such Kabardians as are engaged in the military service shall receive pensions, namely; princes, 120 rubles; the usdens (nobles), 50; and those of the lowest class, 12 rubles per annum. Those who have a certain rank shall moreover receive proportional pay.

2. The Great Kabardah shall furnish for this kind of service 600 men, 12 princes, and 24 usdens; and the Little, 300 men, 6 princes, and 12 usdens.

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* See page 211.

3. These troops shall be employed in protecting the roads and keeping the Ckuban Tartars in check. In case of a new war, the Kabardians shall raise as many troops as may be required.

4. To the retinue of the field-marshal belong six princes and the like number of usdens, with a yearly salary of 300 rubles (silver) for the former, and 150 for the latter: these shall be relieved at stated times by others.

5. The Inguschcs and Ossetians shall furnish 500 men to keep the roads clear of banditti.

6. The Schamchal of Tarku shall receive 8000 rubles (silver) for the formation of a body of troops.

7. He shall also receive from Russia the confirmation of his title, an order, and the patent of a privy-counsellor, and have some regular troops for a life-guard.

8. The Chan of the Awarians with his men shall be taken into the Russian service, and paid out of the sum appropriated to the Lesgians.

9. The King of Kharthli shall receive 60,000 rubles (silver) per annum for the support of a military force, and to cover such expenses as he will be obliged to make under the direction of the commandant.

10. The field-marshal has unlimited authority to accept the submission of any nations that are desirous of becoming subjects of the Russian sceptre*.

INSTRUCTIONS TO GENERAL VON GUDOWITSCH,

Dated 28th February 1792.

1. Six regiments of Don Cossacks shall be distributed in twelve fortified places on the Ckuban, and in the fortress of Usst Labinskaja.

2. Part of the Tartars residing in the middle of the Line shall be removed to the banks of the Kuma and the Molotschnyja Wody.

As orders had been given to neglect no means of gaining the confidence of the mountaineers, to treat them on all occasions with kindness, and not to use severity except in cases of extreme necessity, General Goritsch, a Tscherkessian by birth, was therefore sent with a Mufti to prevail upon them to coincide cheerfully in the measures of Her Imperial Majesty.

In the same year the Ossetians complained of the oppressions of the Tscherkes-

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* In the same year M. von Leschkarew was sent by Prince Potemkin to Persia, but the object and result of his mission are unknown.

sians, who were accordingly admonished. They likewise desired permission to form a corps among them after the manner of the Cossacks, and General von Gudowitsch was directed to consider of the proposal.

A Turkish firman, inviting the Tartars residing on this side of the Ckuban to escape to the other side of that river, was intercepted, and it was found necessary to frustrate this project by means of the Mufti.

Orders were given to support Murtaza-Ckuli-Chan, who had been expelled from Masanderan by his brother Agha-Mohhammed-Chan; and, if it were his wish, to furnish him with the means of leaving Gilan and repairing to Russia.

INSTRUCTIONS TO GENERAL VON GUDOWITSCH,

Dated 19th April 1793.

A barter-trade shall be established among the people of the Ckuban with the salt which they require for their consumption: and it shall be disposed of at a very low price to the Kabardians and other mountaineers. At the same time they must be most strictly prohibited from making it an article of traffic among themselves.

Instead of the four boards for the collection of the tribute, there shall be but two, and the same number for the Usdens.

A board of taxes and court of justice shall likewise be established in the Little Kabardah, and the frontier-court shall have its seat at Mosdok.

The Chan of Baku, Hhüssein-Ckuly-Chan, shall be admitted a vassal of Russia on the same terms as the Chan of Tarku. The same may be done in respect to the Chan of Derbend.

The Isle of Shiloi, near Baku, shall be occupied by Russian troops, and a port constructed there for ships of war as well as merchant vessels.

INSTRUCTIONS TO THE SAME,

Of the same Date.

In order to promote the propagation of Christianity among the mountaineers, Cajus* the Georgian archimandrite shall reside at Mosdok, and superintend the ecclesiastical concerns of the Caucasus. Fairs shall also be instituted, and market-houses erected there as in other places for the encouragement of trade.

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* He was of the family of Wogoscho Schwili in K'achethi, pursued his studies twelve years in Russia, and returned in 1780 to Georgia, where he founded a school at Thelawi; but in 1783 he was again invited to Russia on the most flattering conditions.

Murtaza-Ckuly-Chan, being unable to make head against his brother, settled at Astrachan, and the prisoners of rank whom he brought with him were there kept in confinement, as a pledge for the safety of his relations, who were still in the hands of his brother.

1794.] The year following the latter sent an embassy to General von Gudowitsch, requiring that his brother and those prisoners should be delivered up to him. This demand was refused; and at the same time he was warned not to make any attempts on the Russian frontier-places or Georgia, as that country was likewise under the protection of the empress.

The above-mentioned courts for the Kabardah were opened in both the Kabardahs; that at Mosdok being under the presidency of the Governor Colonel Taganow.

Agha-Mohhammed-Chan, who had reduced almost all Persia and assembled an army of 200,000 men, rendered himself formidable to the Turks themselves. He nevertheless left their frontiers untouched, and was even supplied with provisions by the Paschas, whence a secret understanding between him and the Porte was inferred, and the commanders on the frontiers received notice to be upon their guard.

In 1795 Agha Mohhammed invaded Georgia; in September he took and destroyed Tiflis, and carried off with him a great number of prisoners. Eriwan was likewise obliged to surrender; and in all Adherbitschan there was none but Ibrahim Chan of Schuschi or Ckarabagh that held out against him.

1796.] The following year the Empress declared war against Persia, and sent Count Valerian Subow at the head of an army into Daghestan.

On the 10th of April Derbend was reconnoitred, and a detachment hastened by a way heretofore unknown, to cut off the communication with the Ssurchai-Chan of the Kasi-Ckumücks, who supplied the city with provisions. Derbend surrendered after a furious assault on the 10th of May. It was surprising that only 15 pieces of cannon were found on the ramparts, as Peter I. in 1722 took there 230 pieces, 60 of which were of brass.

Here intelligence was received of the death of the Usmei of the Ckara-Ckaitack. His subjects became divided into two parties, each of which had a brother of the deceased for its chief.—Setting Agha Mohhammed out of the question, the Chans of Daghestan and Schirwan themselves were not well disposed towards Russia.

During this whole campaign the Russians never met the real enemy; and Agha Mohhammed meanwhile caused those persons to be put to death whom he suspected

of disaffection: among these was his own brother A'ly.—When the Russian army appeared before Baku, the Chan of that city, Hhüssein A'ly, himself delivered the keys to Count Subow, who left General Rachmanow there, and continued his march to Schirwan. General Bulghakow was appointed to the command of the fortress of Ckuba, and the army encamped near the ruins of Old Schamachi, where it remained till October, in order to avoid the heat of summer.

Scheich-A'ly-Chan with a host of Lesgians harassed General Bulghakow in Ckuba; and the latter receiving advice that there was a corps of them in the neighbouring village of Alpani, sent Lieutenant-colonel Bakunin with two companies of Jägers and 50 Cossacks to reconnoitre: but this young officer, inflamed with military ardour, ventured too far and was surrounded on all sides. He attempted to cut his way through the enemy, but himself fell one of the first victims to his imprudence; and the greatest part of his officers and men were left dead upon the field. This victory, however, cost the Lesgians upwards of a thousand men, and intimidated them to such a degree, that they durst not venture to appear any more in the plains.

Part of the troops occupied an encampment in the plain, which extended to New Schamachi; and the certainty of the bad intentions of Musthafa Chan, who governed that city, occasioned his removal, and the appointment of his brother Kassim-Chan in his stead. The latter defeated and drove him beyond the Ckur.

Hhassan, brother of A'ly-Chan of Derbend, was made Chan of Ckuba. The Russian troops occupied both banks of the Ckur, and formed their winter camp in the steppe of Mogan. General Korssakow took the fortress of Gandscha, and marched thence to Tiflis, to cover the dominions of Irak'li (Heraclius) King of Georgia.

Murtaza-Ckuli-Chan was now sent to the head-quarters of Count Subow, in order to publish his manifesto in the provinces of Masanderan, Astrabad and Gilan. Proclamations were also distributed among the Turkmens to persuade them to unite with the Russians; but these measures were attended with no success, because Murtaza-Kkuli-Chan had, during his residence at Astrachan, been too much addicted to excesses.

Ensili, Lenkeran, and the island of Saru were taken by the Russians.

The progress of Russia in these parts was by no means a matter of indifference to the Porte, which clandestinely exerted its influence to excite insurrection among the mountaineers, and to place one of its vassal princes on the throne of Imerethi. Several of the Caucasian tribes adhered to the Turkish party, while others conti-

mued faithful to Russia. One of the chiefs of the Chara-Ckaitack, named Emir-Mama-Bey, was made Usmei of that nation by Count Subow.

The aspect of things promised the Russians the most brilliant advantages in Persia, when the death of the great Empress Catharine put an end to this campaign; for her successor, Paul I, immediately gave orders that the army in these parts should be withdrawn.

RESCRIPT TO COUNT GUDOWITSCH,

Dated 5th January 1797.

1. The Ckuban Line shall be strongly fortified.

2. All oppressive proceedings against the mountaineers shall cease, and hostages only be required of them.

3. Georgia, professing the same religion with Russia, must be defended, but as much as possible without having recourse to military measures. All means must likewise be employed to bring the mountaineers under a feudal system, the head of which is the Emperor, but without forcing them to relinquish their ancient political constitution.

4. The Schamchal of Tarku and the Chans of Derbend and Baku are immediate subjects of the Empire, and must be protected against Agha Mohhammed Chan.

5. Attention must be paid, as far as treaties permit, to the encouragement of trade.

6. It must be intimated to Agha Mohhammed Chan, that he will not be firmly seated on the throne till he concludes an alliance with Russia; and at the same time he may be admonished to give a good reception to the Russian envoys.

7. Whatever is likely to give umbrage to the Porte must be carefully avoided, that we may remain on a friendly footing with that power.

The Russian troops returned from Schirwan; and Agha Mohhammed being assassinated by his own people, his limbs were scattered in the streets of Schuschi, and his head was sent from one province to another. The Sserdar Baba Chan, one of his nephews, seized his treasures, and would have made himself sovereign of Persia in his stead; but owing to the circumstances of the times, he could bring no more than the country of Theran, Tawris and Masanderan under his dominion.

In 1798 Solomon the old King of Imerethi died, having previously altered his will, and appointed Giorgi, his eldest son by his first wife, to succeed him. His brothers,

dissatisfied with this arrangement, each formed a party and excited a civil war. As they were unable to pay the Lesgians whom they hired, they gave up to these auxiliaries Georgian villages, which they plundered and destroyed, so that the single year of Giorgi's reign was an age of misery for the country. General Lasarew saved Georgia from total ruin by defeating Prince Alexander, who had invaded it in conjunction with the Uma-Chan of the Awarians. But the greatest misfortune of this country was the ambition of its princes, which occasioned incessant commotions. The Emperor Paul, being informed of these dissensions, resolved to terminate them in 1800, by incorporating Georgia with his empire. This measure accomplished the wishes of the inhabitants, of the deceased King Giorgi himself, and the majority of the princes and nobles. General Lasarew was placed *ad interim* at the head of the government, in order to check the depredations of the Lesgians. The number of the Russian troops in Georgia was augmented, and the supreme command both in military and civil matters conferred on General von Knorring.

1801.] The Emperor Alexander on his accession confirmed the occupation of Georgia, and the following year, 1802, Lieutenant-general Knorring returned to Tiflis, assembled the inhabitants in the principal church, which was surrounded with Russian troops, and published the imperial proclamation, by which Georgia was made a Russian government.—Kharthli and K'achethi were divided into the districts of Lori, Ghori, Duschethi, Thelawi and Ssignach. Native Georgians were appointed to preside in the courts of judicature, and civil causes decided according to the laws of King Wachtang. The revenues were applied to the payment of the salaries of civil officers, and the surplus to the relief of the necessitous.

The privy-counsellor Count Muschin Puschkin was placed at the head of the department of mines. In the time of the Georgian kings, the silver mines of Achtala annually produced only 20 puds* of silver, and the copper-works of Lori were let to Greek merchants at from 40,000 to 45,000 rubles per annum: but owing to the difficulty of procuring labourers sufficient, the profit is very trifling, and not likely to increase for a long time to come.

1803.] In the month of April Prince Paul Zizianow arrived from the Line at Tiflis.—In the beginning of May, Mary, widow of the late King Giorgi, stabbed Major-general Lasarew, when communicating to her the Emperor's command to repair to Russia. In the same month the Prince sent General Gulakow,

* A pud is 40 Russian pounds.

commander of the Kabardian regiment of infantry, with 1500 men and 12 pieces of cannon against the Lesgians of Belakan and Dschari. He first proceeded to Belakan, and took it in August the same year. In September he marched against Dschar, where an obstinate engagement ensued, in which the Russians and Lesgians lost 300 men, and General Gulakow himself was shot.—This battle would probably have been won, had not General Leontiew withdrawn the troops under his command in the middle of the action, When Prince Zizianow received intelligence of the death of the brave general, he wrote to the inhabitants of Dschar, that if they would not submit he would march thither in person with a large army and destroy all their villages. They accordingly sent plenipotentiaries to Tiflis, placed themselves under the dominion of Russia, and promised a yearly tribute of raw silk, which they still continue to pay. They would have submitted before, had not General Gulakow treated them with such inhumanity.—Thus this whole expedition terminated in November 1803.

At the beginning of August the same year, the 9th regiment of Jägers and a battalion of the Caucasian regiment of infantry broke up from Tiflis. This corps, amounting, with the requisite number of Cossacks, to 1000 men, was commanded by the Georgian Prince Dimitri Orbelianow and the brave Lieutenant-colonel Ssimonowitsch. It marched through Thrialethi, Tzalki, and Dshawachethi, against the Lesgians in the pay of Turkey, and falling in with them at Cheobi, in a narrow valley not far from Achalziche and the Ckur, lost 50 Cossacks who made the principal charge. The Lesgians retreated. Prince Orbelianow left Lieutenant-colonel Ssimonowitsch with the infantry in Tzalki, and proceeded with the Cossacks and Jägers to Dshawachethi, where in a defile he found 900 Lesgians, who had carried many Russian prisoners and ammunition to Achalziche. He forbade them to be attacked, but entered into an agreement according to which they were to restore their booty, and sent his brother to accompany them to the Alasani on their frontiers: but they deceived him, and the Russians recovered nothing. Prince Orbelianow, on his return in September to Tiflis, received a severe reprimand from Prince Zizianow: he was deprived of the chief command of the troops in Upper Kharthli, and reduced to the rank of major-general in the army. Zizianow applied to the Pascha of Achalziche to restore the men and ammunition taken by the Lesgians, but he denied that he had them. The Prince was therefore obliged to transmit his complaint to Constantinople, whence soon afterwards (1804) orders were issued to behead the Pascha and deliver up the booty. The first point of the firman was executed, but not the latter.

December 12th, 1803, Prince Zizianow marched with 3000 men for Gandscha,

the Chan of which would not submit by fair means to the Russians. By the way he left a considerable portion of his troops to occupy important posts. On the 15th of January 1804 he took Gandscha by storm; on which occasion the Chan of that place, named Dschawat Chan, was run through with a bayonet at one of the batteries. This is reported to have been done by command of the prince, who forbade him to be taken alive lest he should perhaps be pardoned, and indemnified with a pension:—sound policy, for Zizianow was anxious to save as much as possible for the crown. At the taking of Gandscha the officers and men were gratified with a rich booty.

In February 1804 the Prince returned with his troops to Tiflis, after leaving the 17th regiment of Jägers to garrison Gandscha. In April he proceeded to the frontiers of Imerethi, to take that country and King Solomon under the protection and dominion of Russia. Mingrelia had already submitted in 1803, and was taken possession of in 1804 by General Belowski's regiment of musketeers.

On the 12th of May the Prince marched from Tiflis for Eriwan with 5000 men, among whom were many Cossacks and Georgians. Near the celebrated Armenian convent of Etschmiadschin, about 30 wersts from Eriwan, the Russian camp was attacked, on the 20th of June, by the Georgian Prince Alexander with 15,000 Persian troops, but without success, and the enemy was compelled to retire from the plain into the mountains. On the 23d and 24th of June Alexander renewed the attack, and cut off the water of the Russians, but was repaid in the same coin. On both days skirmishes took place. On the 25th the whole army advanced 25 wersts to Kanagheri on the river Ssangi, where all the waggons and baggage were left behind. The following day it crossed the Ssangi, and took the camp of the Persian troops under Alexander at Karbuli, about three wersts from Eriwan. Seven hundred of the enemy were left dead upon the field, and the booty was very great; among other things, 50 small cannon upon camels, called Samburak, were taken, but no prisoners.

On the 2d of July the blockade of Eriwan, where Mohhammed Chan commanded, was commenced; but the Persians in the suburbs made frequent sallies. On the 15th of July Baba Chan came up with an army of 65,000 men, attacked the Russians in the night at all points, but was repulsed with great slaughter. As, however, our force was too small to oppose so numerous an army for any length of time, as it was destitute of provisions, and the soldiers were in want of all sorts of necessaries, Prince Zizianow was necessitated to raise the siege, and to commence his retreat on the 4th of September. While before Eriwan he had sent Major Montresor with 120 men and one small cannon to Ckarakilisse, in the province of Bombak, to procure provisions: this officer was attacked at the distance of eight wersts by 15,000

Persians, with whom he was engaged from seven in the morning till four in the afternoon; but at length, being overpowered by numbers, he was slain with all his men, excepting eight who were made prisoners. The army was reduced one half by disease, famine, and the enemy; and at Ckarikilisse the loss was very great, because the troops were twelve days without bread, and obliged to subsist during that interval on raw herbs. At length a supply of provisions arrived, but the flour was completely spoiled.—Thus ended the expedition against Eriwan.

On the 10th of October the Prince set out from Tiflis with 500 men, and marched by way of Muchrani, Belothi, and Khrzchinwali, against the Ossetes of the district of Dshaukom (in Georgian, Dshawis Cheoba). In the latter town he left a small magazine of provisions for the expedition; and proceeded on the 22d of October along the right bank of the Liachwi, and then along the left of the river Paza to Dshawi. From this place he sent a Georgian prince to the inhabitants of the large village of Koschki, who about the middle of the same year had routed and plundered a regiment of Don Cossacks commanded by Colonel Rischkin, to demand the restitution of all their booty in men, horses, money, and effects. As this requisition was disregarded, the Prince advanced on the 3d of December to Koschki, the inhabitants of which had retired to the mountains. The following day he repeated his demand, but again in vain; on which he ordered Koschki to be destroyed. The Ossetes, apprehensive lest all their villages might share the same fate, after some negotiation restored their booty: but as they refused to give hostages, the troops carried off every thing within their reach, including 250 men and 150 women, who were afterwards distributed in and near Ghori.

1805.] In April the Prince marched with 500 men to Nuchi, to subject it to the crown of Russia, and to invest Dschapar Kuli Chan with the dignity of Chan of Scheki and Nuchi. At the beginning of June he returned from this expedition to Tiflis.

On the 27th of July he set out for Schuschi or Ckarabagh with 1500 men; and on the 12th of August he received, without any hostilities, on this side of the river Askaran, the submission of Ibrahim, Chan of Ckarabagh, to the Russian sceptre. He left two companies of the 17th regiment of Jägers under Lieutenant-colonel Liessanowitch, to garrison Schuschi, and arrived at Tiflis on the 22d of October.

On the 6th of November 1805, he set out with 3000 men for Baku, where he arrived in January 1806. The circumstances attending his assassination at the gate of that city, owing to his own imprudence, are well known. He carried with him to the grave the reputation of having been the ablest commander that Russia ever had in Georgia.

CHAPTER XXI.

RUINS OF MADSHAR—DESCRIPTION OF THEM—BUT FEW REMAINS OF THEM NOW EXIST—OPINIONS OF GMELIN, PALLAS, AND GULDENSTADT CONCERNING THEM—MANIFEST INDICATIONS OF AN EXTENSIVE CITY—NOT BUILT BY THE HUNGARIANS—SIGNIFICATION OF THE WORD 'MADSHAR' IN THE NOGAY LANGUAGE—THE STYLE OF THE ARCHITECTURE IS TARTAR—INSCRIPTIONS AND COINS DISCOVERED THERE—ACCOUNTS OF THIS CITY BY THE ASIATIC HISTORIANS.

With many writers the similarity of names has greater weight than fifty passages in authentic historians, which controvert some favourite hypothesis built upon such resemblance. Thus de Guignes projected a new system of history for the middle ages, from the opprobrious term *Hiong-nu* (more correctly pronounced *Chiumn-nu**) applied by the Chinese to the genuine Tartars roving about to the north of China, and transformed them into Huns, who are known to have migrated and carried their arms to an immense distance from the Chinese frontiers, and to have advanced to the very gates of Rome. With as little foundation have various authors asserted that the rude hordes of the Madjares sprung from the ruins of Madshar. We are fortunately enabled to correct this egregious mistake; for the ruins of Madshar yet exist, and I visited them several times during my stay at Georgiewsk.

The first writer, to the best of my knowledge, by whom they are mentioned, is Gärber, in his *Account of the Nations and Countries situated between the Caspian Sea, Astrachan, and the River Ckur*, which he drew up in 1728, and which is inserted in the fourth volume of Müller's *Collections towards a History of Russia*. Treating of the country of the Tschirkässians, and the rivers by which it is watered, he says:—"The third is the river Cuma, which first runs between and then by the side of the mountains, and, after it has received many other rivers and become very considerable by these accessions, pursues its course through the open country towards the Caspian Sea, which however it does not reach, but at the distance of one or two days journey is gradually lost, forming some bogs overgrown with rushes, and at last totally disappearing. In the neighbourhood of the spot where it receives the

* It signifies *infamous slaves*.

river Byruma are very agreeable and beautiful fields and woods, and also various remains of towns and villages. You there find, in particular, the ruins of a large city, with handsome stone houses and vaults, from which, as well as from the hewn stones, partly adorned with neat sculpture, lying among the ruins, we cannot but conclude that this must once have been an important and celebrated place. It is yet called Madshar, an appellation which is given by the Poles and Turks to the Hungarians, and by which the latter commonly distinguish themselves. It is probable that the founders of the kingdom of Hungary were originally from this country."

Thus we see that Gärber was the first who broached the absurd opinion that the Hungarians derived their origin from Madshar, and through his means it has been universally propagated: nay, even in the fine map of the northern part of the Turkish empire, by Rizzi Zannoni, which appeared at Paris in 1774, the following notice is annexed to Madshar: *Ville détruite des Magjars, d'où les Hongrois sont sortis.* Büsching, who published Lerche's Life and Travels with notes, seems likewise to be of opinion that Madshar was built by the Hungarians, and censures the learned Fischer, who in his *Dissertatio de Origine Ungrorum* rejects that hypothesis, and conceives this town to have been founded by the Persians, and to have originally borne another name, which the Madjares, when they conquered this country, changed for their own: but as they dwelt in tents, they allowed the Persian inhabitants to continue in their former abodes. Schlözer, who in his History of the Germans in Transylvania has a particular section concerning the Madjares, cautiously abstains from the slightest mention of the ruins of Madshar, choosing rather to leave them in obscurity than to give a false explanation concerning their origin.

Since Gärber, no travellers of note, except S. G. Gmelin, Güldenstädt, and Pallas, have visited the ruins of Madshari; and the first not only found them in the best preservation, but has given us the most circumstantial description of them. As these ruins are annually dwindling away from causes which I shall presently notice, I shall here give an extract from his details, especially as none of his successors found them in so perfect a state as he had done.

Gmelin visited the ruins of Madshari September 21st, 1772, and calls them the remains of a magnificent Scythian city, an appellation pardonable in him as a mere naturalist. From the road from Zarizyn to Mosdok, for which an indifferent bridge has been thrown across the Kuma, and also over one of its branches, he had to travel sixty wersts up that river to Madshari.

Eighteen wersts below Madshari, continues he, you perceive in three places, at some distance from one another, upon the river, remains of buildings, which, as the traveller first comes to them on the way from Astrachan to Madshari, are called the

first Madshari*. I shall first treat of the principal place, which is denominated the Middle or Sserednoi Madshari. Its ruins lie on the left bank of the Kuma, and between the two considerable lakes of Barwala or Bibala and Tamuslowa, both which have an imperceptible communication with the river †, and, when the latter is very low in summer, are generally without water, the bed of the first forming an extensive marsh overgrown with reeds, the haunt of wild boars and other animals. The site of the town is an elevated quadrangular plain, five wersts in diameter, the whole of which is occupied by the remains.

These ruins are evident indications of the former existence of a great and magnificent city, and some remains of buildings are yet in such a state as to prove this to demonstration. Others are more completely destroyed; and of the greater part, the ravages of time have left nothing but rubbish and the foundations, vaults more or less perfect, and similar relics. Such of the ruins as are in the best preservation are situated in general on the extreme border of the quadrangle, and surround the rest of the town. They are of superior dimensions, built of larger and more durable bricks, more profusely embellished, and stand more detached: they likewise exhibit traces of ditches and walls, and seem from all appearances to have been castles of the grandees, erected with a view to strength, splendour, and durability. The bricks resemble those still made by the Tartars of Astrachan, that is to say, they are broader and thicker than ours. In the external walls, a mortar composed of lime and sand is used only here and there, the cement generally employed being clay alone: but within almost all the rooms are plastered and whitewashed. The foundations are mostly of brick, some few of stone, but all extremely solid. The beams and wood-work are fir.

The figure of the buildings yet preserved is square, octagonal, and circular. All of them are from four to nine fathoms in height, and the square and octagonal are surmounted with a kind of pyramid, or rather diminish upward in the form of a pyramid. Narrow winding staircases, seldom more than fifteen inches wide, concealed in the walls, conduct to these pyramids or cupolas, which receive light through apertures resembling windows in their sides. The cupolas are arched at top. In every house there is a lofty and spacious hall with two windows, likewise built of

* Near these ruins, on the left side of the Kuma, and on the right of the Dry Bywalla (Ssuchaja Bywalla), which unites with it, is now situated the village of Madshar or Borgon Madshar, which is also denominated Kawkaskoi Usswjät, and is in a very flourishing condition.

† Here Gmelin seems to be wrong; for, in the following year, when Güldenstädt visited these parts, the Bywalla emptied itself, as it still does, into the Kuma. It should also be observed, that the rivers Bywalla and Donguale form lakes at their extremities only.

stone, from which a door leads into the principal apartment on the ground-floor. The entry to the hall is on the outside, and low. Thus every building consists of no more than one principal apartment on the ground-floor, the hall, and the cupola or pyramid. The first receives light from a small narrow window at a considerable height on each side, and on one or two sides there is a still smaller aperture very near the floor, likewise for the purpose of light, or perhaps of air. On the outside of the walls of the principal apartment and of the hall, there is a recess a brick in depth, and this recess is always arched at the top, probably for ornament. Within are several similar recesses or niches.

The style of the circular buildings differs still more from the modern European and Asiatic architecture. These are likewise from four to nine fathoms in height, not large, arched and pointed at top; and they so nearly resemble the round Persian and other watch-towers, that they might be taken for them, if they did not stand among the other buildings on level ground, and had not windows instead of loop-holes. These were probably magazines.

In the middle of the principal apartment is a circular aperture three or four feet in diameter, closed with a stone which exactly fits it. This aperture leads to a horizontal subterraneous passage, frequently no longer than the room itself, but which in many instances proceeds in a straight line, and runs to the extremity of the court-yard, where is also a closed entrance. It is provided with several air-holes.

The decorations of the buildings consist of blue, green, red, or white glazed bricks, which are neatly inlaid among the others in the form of triangles, squares, parallelograms, crosses, hearts, and other figures, both in the interior and exterior of the walls of the lower apartment, and of the pyramid or cupola; just in the same manner as in the buildings of Sseliternoi Gorodok*.

* Dshid-Hhadshi on the Achtuba, called by the Russians Sseliternoi Gorodok (Saltpetre Town), formerly exhibited considerable ruins; but now scarcely any thing is to be seen there except prodigious heaps of bricks, some of which are glazed on one side blue, green, or white. Some traces even of mosaic-work are met with there. The four towers which are still standing are modern, and, like the walls of Astrachan, built of old materials. That they are of modern date is demonstrated by the cement, which is only a bad kind of clay, and not comparable to the ancient Tartar cement; the modern style of the wood-work of the windows; and the glazed bricks, which are here intermixed, whereas the Tartars used them only for doors and decorations. It seems probable, that at some former period the Russians had designed to make it a place of protection for their vessels navigating the Achtuba.

Some travellers, who have spoken of graves arched with brick, have fallen into a mistake. By the terms Mogila, Kurgan, or Bugor is Kirpitsch, the Russians understand nothing else than ruins

The smaller wall incloses the court-yards of the above-described principal buildings in the form of a square, be the buildings themselves of whatever figure they may. Each of these court-yards has one or more graves, probably of the owners and their relations. Where there are several, they are all placed by the side of one another. Every grave has a stone either standing upright or flat. The latter are about two yards long, and on the upper side there is generally the figure of a coffin common in Germany; but some have also geometrical and other figures, which to me appeared arbitrary, but might be a representation of the signature or arms of the deceased: thus you see upon them triangles, crosses, squares, &c. The surface of one large grave-stone was divided by two diagonal lines into three compartments; in the centre was the figure of a coffin, and a figure in each of the two others.

Besides these detached graves in the court-yards, there are also general burial-places, and one in particular beyond the Lake of Baiwalla (the River Bywalla) full of grave-stones of different kinds.

The buildings in the interior of the city, surrounded by these durable edifices, are now almost all mere heaps of rubbish forming small hills. They must have been run up with bad materials, and have been partly built of unburnt brick alone. Nevertheless, every house has its court-yard encompassed with a wall and ditch, and its tenants repose in their own ground, as traces of the walls and grave-stones plainly evince—proofs these of the once flourishing state of this city.

The fissures which now intersect Madshari have been formed (for I can ascribe them to no other cause) by the rising and falling of the river and the lakes, and are not, as some writers assert, the remains of artificial ditches. The more solid edifices on the skirts of the town were certainly not receptacles for the dead, as has

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or heaps of rubbish. Between the four towers already mentioned are seen still more modern remains of wooden houses without roofs, doors, windows, or other inhabitants than serpents and tarantulas. One single indigent Russian family alone resides on the spot, for the sake of a little traffic with the neighbouring Nomades. As to the serpents, I cannot comprehend how they can live in so elevated and so dry a situation; but so much is certain, that you cannot stir a step without encountering these disagreeable reptiles. Several Calmucks and Tartars who happened to be there seemed extremely astonished at meeting with strangers in this place. In the evening other visitors announced themselves: these were howling wolves, who struck great terror into the present garrison of this ancient fortress, composed of a few dogs. I would not advise any hypochondriac to make a long stay at Dshid-Hhadshi; for these ruins, their wretched inhabitants, the boundless desert by which they are encompassed, the hissing of serpents, and the howling of wolves, render it one of the most horrible abodes in the world.—*Travels of Count J. Potocki.*

been imagined: otherwise, what occasion would there have been for the distinct burial-places in the respective court-yards?

Not far from Madshari, near the Lake of Baiwalla, I saw a sepulchre, the occasion of which I was quite at a loss to divine. This burial-place cannot have been discovered but by some accident, perhaps by some person sinking in there; for it is totally destitute of any of the marks that would excite a suspicion of the existence of such a receptacle. In a spot overgrown with reeds is a hole two yards deep, four long, and about the same in breadth, with shelving sides, which was covered with clay and turf, as it partly is still. It is almost full of decayed human bones, to all appearance the remains of persons slain in battle.

The first Madshari (or Lower Madshari) already mentioned is situated on the Kuma, 18 wersts from Great Madshari, and consists of the ruins of three edifices and court-yards at some distance from one another. One of them exactly resembled the octagonal buildings described above, both in form and architecture, but was of larger dimensions than any of those structures, and the ornaments of glazed brick had sustained less injury. The two others stand each at the distance of about 200 fathoms from this edifice, and all three in the form of a triangle.

On the Kuma, three wersts beyond Middle Madshari, are the ruins of houses of the same kind, which are called by the Russians Upper Madshari. Opposite to Middle Madshari, on the other (the right) side of the Kuma, are some few relics of former settlements and habitations.

To this description of the remains of Madshar Gmelin adds that in 1735, while the Tartars were still masters of this country, Tatischtschew, Governor of Astrachan, sent some persons with a strong escort to explore these ruins, and to collect antiquities. By their means, as we are told, he obtained a writing upon very strong blue paper* and several coins, which he, (as an antiquary!), took to be Scythian. It is matter of regret that nobody knows what has become of these collections, for in 1735 much greater curiosities must have existed there than in Gmelin's time, or at present; since the avarice of the Russian peasants prompts

* The Mongols still use the same kind of paper, which is either blue, brown, or black, for copying the sacred books of the Lama religion upon, in gold, silver, or white letters. Of this sort were the Tibetian and Mongol writings found at Semipalatna and Ablai-kit, which excited so much attention at the commencement of the last century. See *Bayer Museum Sinicum*, *Petrop.* 1730. vol. i. Præf. p. 108. and *G. F. Müller Comment. de Script. Tangut. in Siberia repertis*, in the *Comment. Acad. Petrop.* vol. x. p. 420 et seq.

them to such researches wherever there are ruins and ancient graves, as leave nothing to be gleaned after them.

The worthy Güldenstädt, who was at Madshar on the 4th of July 1773, found there, in an area of 400 square fathoms, about fifty different buildings of brick. He considers them not as habitations but sepulchral edifices, all of which were provided with subterraneous vaults, which are not cellars but graves where the coffins were deposited. About 500 fathoms to the west of this burial-place were the ruins of a Mohammedan messdshet with its tower or minaret, and 500 fathoms further to the west the remains of another edifice of the same kind. He is of opinion that between the two might once have stood houses, of which indeed no traces are now left, but which were probably, according to the mode of building common in this country, of light boards and wicker-work. From some inscriptions Güldenstädt ascertained that Madshar was inhabited in the eighth century of the Hedshra; and from the style of the ruins he concludes that the inhabitants were Mohammedans, and according to history Nogays. Respecting the modern Madjares or Hungarians, who are said to have resided there, he is of course totally silent.

Pallas, who was here the latest of all known travellers, says, that in 1780 thirty-two buildings were yet left, partly in good preservation, partly lying in ruins, and that there had formerly been ten others in the form of towers: but since numerous colonists have settled on the Kuma, and erected villages, all these remains of Madshar have disappeared; as they employed the bricks in building their houses, because timber is a great rarity in the adjacent country. Thus seven years later Pallas found but four chapels, as they are called, standing, the sites of the others being marked only by heaps of rubbish. He is of opinion that there never was a city on this spot, but that Madshar was only the burial-place of some Mohammedan tribe. Like Güldenstädt, he rejects the idea that the Hungarians ever resided in these parts.

Reineggs, the adventurer, who pretends to understand every thing, and to clear up all difficulties, says that Madshar was founded by the Mongols after they had conquered the Lesghians and Ghyssr (Chasares), and taken possession of their territories. Either it received that appellation in memory of some great engagement fought there, for Matshar signifies death, or the defeat of an army; or it was Madmed-tschar, merely a rendezvous of troops, the head-quarters, where, as we are informed, Ghakan San-nang-ky actually had his principal encampment. In another place he tells us, that at the beginning of the second century of the Hedshra, the inhabitants of Madshar, weary of the incessant wars in which they were

involved by the Ghakan of the Teste-Kipzschak, abandoned this place, and removed westward with all their property and effects. Here he evidently alludes to the Hungarians: but soon afterwards he asserts that the dates on grave-stones and other inscriptions at Madshar prove that it could not have been forsaken more than 180 (now upwards of 200) years.

What shall we say to all these etymologies and contradictions?

1. *Mat* is a modern Persian word which signifies *confused, affrighted, check-mate* (at chess); but *tscheri* is in modern Turkish a *soldier*, an *army*. Consequently there must have been Mongols in the *steppe* of the Kuma before the birth of Christ, and they must have spoken the modern Persian and the Turkish at the same time! The other explanation is just as absurd and as inconsistent with the principles of the language.

2. Reineggs, as I know for certain from the information of persons who knew him intimately, was never at Madshar, and probably never saw an inscription brought from that place. It is possible that he may have mistaken inscriptions from the Nogay burial-place on the Bywalla, which may be 180 years old, for Madsharian.

Having now stated the reports of earlier travellers respecting Madshar, I shall subjoin my own observations, which, as I hope, will prove more satisfactory than those of my predecessors, even though I came too late to view the ruins of this remarkable city in their splendour.

On the 29th of September 1808 I left the fortress of Georgiewsk to pay a second visit* to Madshar and the antiquities on the Kuma. The road lay through thickets for five wersts to the bank of that river, which is crossed by a bridge. Its banks are here of considerable height, and every where lined with trees and shrubs, which, on account of the excellence of the soil, thrive rapidly. Having proceeded eight wersts further, we arrived at the village of Obilnoi, situated on the left bank of the Kuma, on an eminence, not far from its junction with the Podkumok. This village, like many others on the Kuma, is partly inhabited by peasants who belong to new religious sects heretofore unknown in Christendom, who reject the doctrine of the Trinity, live in conjugal union with their daughters and sisters, and maintain other tenets totally incompatible with those of the Greek church. Many have forsaken Christianity and become Jews, read only the Old Testament, and have a regular synagogue where the priestly functions are performed not by a genuine

* I was at Madshar for the first time in November 1807; but as the weather was very unfavourable, and much snow had fallen, I could not then examine the ruins so minutely.

Jewish rabbi but by a Russian who has turned Jew. Some years since these poor creatures were rigorously persecuted and imprisoned, with a view to compel them to renounce their faith, till the philanthropic Alexander gave them full liberty to believe what they pleased, but forbade them to make proselytes in other families. On the way to Fedorowka, 25 wersts from Obilnoi, we went through the villages of Nishoi Podgornoi and Nowo Sawedennoi, both on the left bank of the river, which we crossed by a bridge at the passage called by the Tartars Tschanackbrod, and arrived at Otkasnoi. Here I was shown a plant of wild horse-radish (*Crambe orientalis*) which had grown on the high bank of the Kuma. It resembled a small tree; the root was seven inches in diameter, and two ells and a half long. Such gigantic roots are not rare in these parts; and this wild horse-radish is preferred to the common, on account of its strength. It is dried, rubbed to powder, and mixed up for use with a little vinegar. In the market of Georgiewsk I had often before seen very large roots of this herb, and likewise beet and radishes of prodigious size, but none of such extraordinary dimensions. From Otkasnoi we continued on the right side of the Kuma, the banks of which are there less elevated, and nearly reached Nowo Grigoriewskaja or Fedorowka before we crossed it again. This village is one of the most considerable on the Kuma, on the left side of which it is situated, not far from its conflux with the rivulet of Ckaramicklé, which runs from west to east. As it began to grow dark, I passed the night there, with the intention of pursuing my route early next morning. I questioned the oldest of the peasants concerning the remains of antiquity, but was told, that all the ancient buildings which were standing twenty years since in this part of the country had been pulled down. They however brought me several silver and copper coins, and some mosaic-work of glass tesseræ, in tolerable preservation.

In order to look for the statue described by Güldenstädt, and called by the Tartars Ckara Ckatün, I sent forward my carriage by the usual road, which runs along the right of the Kuma to the village of Alexandrowskaja, beyond which it again crosses to the left side of the river, while I myself remained upon the latter. This side I carefully examined as far as Nino or Frolowskoi-Kut, but could find no traces of antiquities. At Nino my carriage was waiting for me, and I proceeded to the village of Priwalnoe or Maslow-Kut, situated on the left of the river, 15 wersts from Feodorowka. It is four wersts further to the passage over the Kuma denominated by the Tartars Eidemir-brod. Here I was informed, by an aged Turkmen Tartar, who was perfectly acquainted with the environs, that the figure called Ckara Ckatün no longer exists, but was broken up several years since by the peasants for the

sake of the stone. As the road on the left of the Kuma was very rough and inconvenient, I left that side and the country termed by the Tartars Uitsch Gilgä, or the Three Valleys, and proceeded on the right of the river to Praskowyno. The village is situated in a fine fertile plain, 39 wersts from Maslow-Kut. Opposite to it, on the elevated bank of the Kuma, below the spot where it receives the Bibala, or, as the Russians pronounce it, the Buywola, several Armenian and Georgian families from Kislar have formed a settlement, and support themselves by trade and some little agriculture. Their village is four wersts from Praskowyno, and on both sides of it lie the ruins called Madshar or Madshari.

These ruins, of which I could find nothing but the traces, are situated on the elevated brow of the steppe on the left of the Kuma, and on both sides of the Bibala, and extend northward as far as two small lakes of salt water. They occupy an area about four wersts and a half in length from north to south, and very little less in breadth. The destruction of these remains of antiquity has been occasioned chiefly by the settlement of several colonies, which have established themselves in this neighbourhood, and have pulled them down for the sake of the serviceable bricks. Their total demolition, however, is to be ascribed more particularly to Count Paul Ssergeitsch Potemkin, who ordered the greatest part of the buildings remaining in his time to be taken down, that the materials might be employed in the erection of the governmental town and fortress of Jekaterinograd, projected by himself. The peasants of Pokoinoi and Praskowyno have since carried away such quantities of bricks, that out of all the edifices only two burial-chapels are now left, and these are going rapidly to decay.

As the particulars already quoted from Gmelin and Güldenstädt are more circumstantial than any that I am capable of giving, I shall merely subjoin the description of a burial-vault underneath one of the chapels still standing, which I caused to be opened. The sunken floor of this building, which was quite open towards the east, was covered to the depth of more than two feet with bricks, rubbish, and earth; these were cleared away with shovels, when I found a hole, two feet and a half in depth and two in width, covered with a large lime-stone. This was the entrance to the vault, which was nine feet long and five and a half broad, but scarcely high enough to allow a person to stand upright. It was built of bricks laid edgewise; and in the middle, upon an elevation of brick-work, was a coffin made of thick deal boards, with the bones of the deceased, of the ordinary size, but which were much decayed, and authorize the inference that they must be of considerable antiquity. The skull had fallen to pieces, otherwise I should have taken it with

me. Besides these objects there was nothing whatever worthy of notice in the vault. The air was pure, and our wax-tapers burned extremely bright in it. The coffin lay in the direction from north to south. I would have had the vault under the other chapel opened also; but the Armenians assured me that they had examined it about a year before, and that it exactly resembled this in every particular.

From the remaining ruins and from the old foundations, the site of the town may easily be recognised, and it is evident that the burial-place was towards the Kuma. Every impartial person must admit that most of these remains are indications of a city, as are also the numerous ancient European and Tartar silver and copper coins, the gold and silver rings and ear-rings, the bronze mirrors, and other utensils which are still frequently found buried in the earth; further, the mosaic pavements of blue, white, and green glazed tiles, stone seats, and among the rest also a large reservoir for water of hewn stone, which now serves a peasant at Praskowyno for a corn-bin.

The name *Madshar*, given to these ruins, is old Tartar, and signifies a stone building*; it is synonymous with *Thaschtân*. By the neighbouring Nogays and Turkmens they are likewise called *Ckirck Madshar*, that is, the *forty stone buildings*. Here, as in Turkish, *Ckirck* does not merely signify forty, but it is the number which denotes a great multitude, like *six hundred* in Latin. In some Tartar dialects indeed, the word *Mashar* also means a large four-wheeled waggon, but here that signification seems to be totally inapplicable. In no case then can this name have any allusion to the Hungarians or Madjares; on the other hand, some tribes of the Bassian Tartars in the lofty mountains of the Caucasus, at the source of the Tschegem and Tscherek, assert that they are descended from the inhabitants of this Ckirck Madshar.

The following facts, however, afford incontestable proofs that Madshar was a town built and inhabited by Ckipdshack Tartars.

I. The form of the buildings and sepulchral chapels is characteristic of Southern Asia; and the latter in particular exactly resemble those which are to be seen near Tiflis in the Tartar burial-place on the rivulet of Zakuissi. The fashion of adorning the walls with tiles, which are glazed on one side with different colours, is also Tartar and Mongol. Thus in Dauria are to be found the ruins of an ancient city, and the same kind of green, blue, and red bricks as here; and in Tiflis the walls of

* See the passage of the Tartar history quoted at p. 239, which says, *Chanlerinüm jurtleri Madshâr bulur*, that is, the habitations of the Chans were stone buildings (*Madshar*.)

the citadel of Naraklea, erected by the Turks, are in like manner ornamented with glazed tiles of different colours.

II. The inscriptions in the Arabic language yet extant on grave-stones are of Mohammedan Tartar origin. Several that I saw were inscribed in letters resembling the Cufic, and others in Niss'chi characters; the two most perfect of which are the following:

هذا تربة المرحوم المحتاج الي رحمة الله خلد
سينا بن محمد
بن خليل ا . . . قاش الرو . . . . في تاريخ سنة
سبعة اربعين
و سبعماية

that is:—*Here is buried the deceased, who needs the mercy of God in eternity, Sina, son of Mohhammed, the son of Chalil . . . . . in the year of the æra seven-and-forty and seven hundred.*

The year of the Hedshrah 747 commences April 23, 1346, and ends the 11th of April in the year 1347 of the Christian æra.

The other inscription, which is of later date by about thirty years, is as follows:

القاضي المسلمين قاسي
محمد بن تاج الدين
سنة سبعة سبعون و سبعمايه

that is:—*The Judge of the Faithful, Ckassi Mohhammed, son of Tadsh-eddin* (Crown of the Faith) *in the year seven-and-seventy and seven hundred.*

The year 777 of the Hedshrah falls between the 1st of June 1375 and the 19th of May 1376. This stone, which is in excellent preservation, I took away with me from Madshar for the sake of the date.

All the other sepulchral inscriptions containing dates, which were partly expressed in words and partly in figures, belonged to the eighth century of the Hedshrah; and of these I found five more; but excepting the lower part, comprehending the date, they were too much defaced to be entirely made out. When Pallas asserts that he found no stones with inscriptions at Madshar, he proves that he took no great pains to look for them. They are now, indeed, no longer to be met with among the ruins, but may be seen in the court-yards of the neighbouring peasants, who use them for building. Many of them also are said to have been employed in the walls of Jekaterinograd.

III. Almost all the silver and copper pieces found at Madshar were coined at

Ssarai, the residence of the Dshingischanides in the Ckipdschack, or in other cities of their empire. Among the many that I have collected, there are very few the inscriptions on which are legible. I have, however, succeeded in translating several, which follow in chronological order:—

1. A copper coin, to judge from the date, of Mangu Timur Chan's, a brother of Batu, who reigned from 1266 to 1281. The obverse displays the subjoined figure or monogram:

and the reverse exhibits pretty plainly this inscription:

ضرب سراي سنة ٧٣ ..

that is:—Coined at Ssarai in the year . 73. The figure for the hundreds is wanting; but the monogram favours the conclusion that it must be prior to the time of Togtögu Chan, so that it must be read ٦٧٣ (673,) which year of the Hedshrah falls between A. D. 1274 and 1275.

2. Two copper coins, the obverse of which exhibits the following figure or monogram in a square surrounded with ornaments:

and the reverse: ضرب .... الجديد سنة ٧٧ ..

Coined in the new (city) in the year . 77.

As the latter Chans of Ckipdschack did not use the monograms which their forefathers employed, and their coins are of much neater workmanship than the two here described, it is to be presumed that the deficient figure must have been a ٦ (6); the year, therefore, would be 677 or A. D. 1278, so that this coin would belong to the time of Mangu Timur, who reigned from 1266 to 1281.

3. Three silver coins and one of copper, with the same inscription, but of a different die. On the obverse in a square:—

السّلطان الاعظم غياث الدّنيا والدين توقتمر العادل

The great Ssulthan Ghajats Eddunia (the prop of the world) Toktögu-chan, the Just.

The name Toktögu-chan is in Mongol characters.

On the reverse likewise in a square:

ضرب سراي المحروسة سنة ٧١٥

Coined at Ssarai, the capital, in the year 715; that is, A. D. 1315.

4. A silver coin of Toktögu Chan, totally illegible except the date ٧٠٩ (709), that is, A. D. 1309.

5. Two silver coins: on the obverse:

السلطان الاعظم اوزبك خان

The great Ssulthan Usbeck Chan.

Round the edge: ضرب سراي الجديد

Coined at New Ssarai.

On the reverse: لا اله الا الله محمّد رسول الله

There is no God but God, and Mohammed is the sent of God.

Usbek Chan reigned till 1341.

6. A silver coin in very good preservation. On the obverse:

السلطان العادل خليفتهم جلال الدّين محمد

The Just Ssulthan Dshani-beg-chan, Dshelal eddin Mohhammed.

The name Dshani-beg-chan is in Mongol Igurian characters.—On the reverse:

ضرب في السراي الجديد سنة ٧٤٤

Coined at New Ssarai in the year 744 (A. D. 1343.)

This coin is one of Dshani-beg-chan's, who reigned from 1341 to 1357.

7. Two silver coins: on the obverse:

السّلطان العادل جلال الدّين جاني بك خان

The Just Ssulthan Dshelal eddin (Glory of the Faith,) Dshani-beg-chan.

On the reverse: ضرب سراي الجديد سنة ٧٤٧

Coined at New Ssarai in the year 747 (A. D. 1346.)

8. A copper coin with ornamental figures on the obverse. The reverse bears the following inscription: ضرب سراي سنة ستّ خمسين و سبعماية

Coined at Ssarai in the year six-and-fifty and seven hundred. (A. D. 1355.)

9. A silver coin: on the obverse:

السلطان العادل كلدي بك خان

The Just Ssulthan Kildibeg-chan.

The reverse, with the exception of the words ضرب سراي *coined at Ssarai*, is illegible. This piece must be of the year 1359, to which alone the reign of Kildibeg was confined.

10. Several copper coins of Kildibeg Chan, all of which have on the obverse a ك, as the initial of his name. On the reverse are illegible inscriptions, and on one only can the date ٧٦١ (761) be ascertained, which correaponds with A. D. 1359.

11. Two copper coins, the obverse of which exhibits ornamental figures only, but on the reverse appear the words :

ضرب سراي الجديد سنة ٧٧٢

Coined at New Ssarai in the year 772 (A. D. 1370).

These coins are of the time of Urus Chan, who died in 1376.

12. A silver coin : on the obverse :

السلطان العادل ناصر الدّين توقتامش خان

The Just Ssulthan Nazzer eddin Tocktamisch-chan.

On the reverse : ضرب سراي الجديد سنة ٧٨٢

Coined at New Ssarai, 782 (A. D. 1380).

13. A silver coin. On the obverse :

السلطان العادل ناصر الدّين توقتامش خان

The Just Ssulthan Nazzer eddin Tocktamisch-chan.

On the reverse : ضرب حاجي ترخان في سنة ٧٨٤

Struck at Hhadshi tarchan (Astrachan) in the year 786 (A. D. 1384.)

14. A copper coin of Pulad Chan, who reigned from 1406 to 1408.

On the obverse : السلطان العادل پولاد خان

The Just Ssulthan Pulad Chan.

On the reverse : ضرب سراي الجديد . . .

Coined at New Ssarai.

This is the most modern of all the coins, for it belongs to the commencement of the 15th century of our æra.

IV. Finally, the most irrefragable proof that Madshar has been a city is afforded by the Asiatic historians who make mention of it as such. From the *Derbend Nameh*, the History of Derbend, written in the Tartar language by Mohhammed Awabi Akraschi, an inhabitant of Endery, at the command of Gerai Chan, it plainly appears that Great and Little Madshar must have been considerable towns so early as the commencement of the second century of the Hedshrah, since they had their respective governors, as the following passage demonstrates :—" As Endery was governor of Balch, that city, as it is well known, was called after his name Endery. Formerly it was denominated from a remote period Balch. The original name of Gübach is Ihran ; but because it had a governor named Gülbach, it was called Gülbach also. Historians relate further, that when Paschenk, the son of Chackan, was come to Ihran, he made known to all his generals, as Gübach who was governor of Ihran, Endery who was governor of Balch, Ssurchab governor of

the fortress of Kisil-jar, Tschunli governor of Kitschi (Little) Madshar, and the governors of Ulu (Great) Madshar, Dshulad, and Scheheri Tatar, that they should obey Güibach, governor of Ihran."

Abulghasi Bahadur Chan also makes mention, in his History of the Tartars, of Madshar, as a city; but this passage, like many others, has been omitted in the French and German translations of his work. In treating of the reign of the Ckapdshak Chan Mengu-timur-chan (who reigned from A. D. 1266 to 1282) he tells us that "he also gave the lordship called Ack-ordah to Bahatur-chan, a son of Scheiban-chan; and the cities of Kaffah, Ckrym, and Madshar, to Oran-timur, a son of Tuckai-Timur."

At Mosdok I procured another history of the Tartars, written in the Nogay Tartar dialect, in which is the following passage relative to the places of residence of the ancient Tartar Chans, where Madshar is again mentioned.

"*Account of the Places of Assembly and Habitations.*

"The habitations of the Chans were *stone buildings**. The residence of one Chan was Urisch, and the residence of another Chan was Chursaan. Thus the residence of the Emir Chodsha Chan was Uitsch-Osen, and Tockthamisch Chan's residence Dsham Dshaick, between Schermischen and Timssadack; Dshan Beg Chan's residence was at Ack Adil, with the name of Ssaray Aldy. Bus Agasch was Ckara Chan's residence; Buru Chan's residence Ack Thubah (Achtuba); Kuschum Chan's residence was on Mount Tura; the abode of Ubar-durg-chan was the hill Uschal; Hirid Hekim Chan's was Ssaray-tschick; Jaick Chan's was Madshar. There were three vice-chans; at Adshdruchan was the place of abode of Timur Ckutlu Chan, Borki Chan's habitation was at Ckathatûr, and Sheich Aly Chan's residence at Ckasan."

The Tartars who rove about in the neighbourhood of the ruins of Madshar relate that this place was the residence of the Chan Mamai, who can be no other person than Temnick-Mamai, who succeeded Kildi Beg in the government of the Ckapdshack monarchy, and died in the year of the Hedshrah 782 (A. D. 1380). Hence also the Russians in the vicinity give this place the appellation of Mamaiski Gorod. They have likewise been already informed by their superiors, and by travellers, that Hungarians are reported to have resided here; and a colonel had confirmed them in this notion shortly before my visit to Madshar. This may serve

* Here Madshar is used as a word signifying *stone buildings*.

as a piece of information for succeeding travellers, and warn them against mistaking the report for a popular tradition.

Abulfeda, who finished his Geography in 1321, seems also to have known Madshar as a city; for in the observations on his twenty-eighth table, which contains the northern portion of our hemisphere, he says, "To these countries likewise belongs Kumadsher, in the country of the Tartars of the Borkah, which lies about half-way between the iron gate (Derbend) and Asack, and from which Bab-el-Hhadidi (or the iron gate, Derbend) lies rather to the south-east, and Asack to the west. Not far distant are the settlements of the Leksi, who dwell among the mountains which separate the northern Tartars, or those of the Borkah, from the southern, who are subject to the Hulagu." This passage exactly applies to Madshar, and the name of Kumadsher seems to be composed of Kum and Madshar, that is to say, Madshar on the Kuma; as in like manner the whole *steppe* of the Kuma is by the Persian historians denominated Kumestan.

Madshar was probably destroyed in the turbulent times which followed the reign of Tocktamisch (about A.D. 1400), in which the kingdom of Ckapdshak was convulsed by civil wars. The last coin found there that I have seen was struck in the time of Pulad Chan, who reigned from 1406 to 1408.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE RIVER CKUBAN—ITS ANCIENT NAMES—SOURCE—STREAMS THAT DISCHARGE THEMSELVES INTO IT—PLACES SITUATED ON IT—NATIONS DWELLING BEYOND THE CKUBAN, THE TSCHERKESSIANS, TARTARS, AND ABASSES—PARTICULARS RESPECTING THE ABASSES—LITTLE ABASA, OR THE SIX TRIBES (ALTI KESEK ABASSI)—BESCHILBAI—NOGAYS OF THE FAMILY OF MANZUR—BESLENIE—MIDAWI OR MADOWCH—BARRAKAI—KASILBEG—TSCHEGREH AND BAGH—MUCHOSCH—NAURUS AUL—TUBI AND UBUCH—BSUBBEH—ABASECH—KEMURQUAHE OR TEMIRGOI—BSHEDUCH—HATTIQUAHE OR HATTUKAI—SCHAPSCHIK—NETSCHQUADSHA OR NANTUCHASCH—SHANI—S'CHEGAKEH—ADALEY—NATIONS INHABITING THE COUNTRY TO THE SOUTH OF THE CAUCASUS TOWARDS THE BLACK SEA: UBUCH, SCHASCHI, IBSIP, ARATCHOWASS, BAH, AND NALKUPI-MADSHAWI—DESCENDANTS OF THE KRYM SSULTHANS—ANAPA—SUDSHUK-CKALA'H—SOCHUM-CKALA'H—MODE OF PUNISHING THE TRANSKUBANIANS—COMMODITIES WITH WHICH THEY REQUIRE TO BE SUPPLIED BY THE RUSSIANS—MEANS PROPOSED FOR KEEPING THEM IN ORDER.

THE river Ckuban is the Hypanis of Herodotus and Strabo, and the Vardanes of Ptolemy; but its sources, which that geographer has not determined, are placed far too much to the west, towards the narrow Albanian passes, in the maps projected to his work by Gerhard Mercator in 1578; for which there is no authority in the text of Ptolemy himself. Vibius Sequester makes the Hypanis the boundary between Asia and Europe: his words are: *Hypanis Scythicæ, qui ut ait Gallus,*

Uno tellures dividit amne duas,

Asiam enim ab Europa separat.—In later times it seems to have been also called Mæotis; for Julius Honorius, and the Cosmography erroneously ascribed to Æthicus, to both of whom the Tanais (Don) was well known, make mention also of the former river, and seem to have derived their information from the same source; for the first says: *Fluvius Mæotæ nascitur de monte Hipanis, influit in mare Mæotis, currit millia CCIII.* and in the Cosmography we are told: *Fluvius Mæotis nascitur de monte Spano: influit in mare Mæotis: currit millia CCIV.* This cannot apply to any of the rivers which discharge themselves into the sea of Asow, between the mouths of the Don and of the Ckuban; for all these proceed from the

level steppe, and have not their sources in any mountains. The name of Mount Hipanis or Spanus seems also to have been confounded with the name of the river Hypanis.

The name Ckuban is Tartar, and has been retained by the Russians. By the Nogays it is likewise pronounced Kuman; but I could never learn the signification of the word. By the Abassian tribes this river is denominated Kubin, and by the Tscherkessians Psi-sshé, that is, *old water*, or the *ancient river*. It rises on the north side of the lofty snow-covered Elbrus, at the foot of which its current is augmented by the rivulet Chursuk, that comes from the mountains, and falls into the right side of it near the village of Ckaratschai. It first takes a north-west course, and while pursuing this direction the following rivers discharge themselves into it on the right side from its source downwards:

1. The small rivulet Mara, a few wersts below the bridge over the Ckuban, called in Tartar Tasch Kopir, but in Tscherkessian Miwwe' t'lemisch, the *stone bridge*. The rivulet Mara comes from the mountain of the same name, which lies to the east, and on the north side of which the Kuma has its source.

2. Kalmursa Dshilgasse, ten wersts below the preceding.

3. Temir-ssu, or *Iron-water*, five wersts from the foregoing.

4. Utsch-kul, or the *Three Peasants*, at the like distance from Temir-ssu.

5. Dshegota, fifteen wersts from the last.

6. Dshechanes or Jachnas, likewise denominated Taschly, or the *stony;* five wersts from Dshegota.

7. Koiden, also called, after a Tartar prince, Tocktamysch. At its conflux with this river the Ckuban issues from among the high mountains, and hence a road leads westward along the Koiden, beyond its sources, as far as the Kuma, Podkuma, and Malka: twenty-five wersts from the preceding.

8. The river Batmackly, that is, in Tartar, the *sunken*, rises to the south-east in the same range as the Koiden, and falls, twenty-five wersts below the mouth of the latter, into the Ckuban. On the upper part of the Batmackly is the Ckuban Cossack post*; and lower down, on the right bank, the redoubt of Kubanskoi.

9. The Gogunly, called by the Russians Newinnaja, *the innocent*, 35 wersts from the foregoing. Between the last two rivers is the wood of Kalajarle; and near it a passage of the same name over the Ckuban, on the left side of which the Turks formerly had a fortification. Between Ckubanskoi and the redoubt of Ust-Newinskoi is another, denominated Otkrytnoi.

* Here was stationed the Tubunschikow regiment of Cossacks.

10. The river Barsuckle, or the *Badgers' Water*, rises to the south-east, near Worowskoi Less, then runs to the left past Mount Dudara, on the north side of which stands the redoubt of Werchnoi Barsucklowskoi, and discharges itself a little below Pregradnoi-Stan into the right side of the Ckuban. On this side, between the Barsuckle and Gogunly, the Russians have the redoubts of Newinnoi, Newinnomyssnoi, and Pregradnoistan. Near Newinnoi is the passage over the Ckuban called Ssulukis.

11. The river Utsch Barsuck, in Tartar the *Three Badgers*, but named by the Russians Gorkaja, *the bitter*, falls into the Ckuban 95 wersts below the preceding. In this space the Russians have the redoubts of Nedremannoi, Dershawnoi, Sapadnoi, Ubeshnoi, Protschnoi Okop, and Zaryzinskoi. Just below the mouth of the Barsuckle is the passage over the Ckuban called by the Tartars Ssare-Tschegew, and another named Dshangelde, about eight wersts above Sapadnoi.

12. The rivulet denominated by the Russians Kamyschewataja, or the *Reed-brook*; fifteen wersts from the preceding. About three wersts above its mouth is situated the redoubt of Grigoripolis on the Ckuban.

13. The small stream Ternowka is the last accession received by the Ckuban on its right: ten wersts from the preceding, with the redoubt of Ternowskoi.

On the right side of the Ckuban, as far as the place where it receives the Laba on its left, are the following places with their Tartar names, and with passages over that river:—the woody hills of Dombai Tup, the hamlet of Schandik Etken, Jetmisch Berk, or the seventy households, and Uetsch Kunluk. Between the influx of the Schaghwascha and the Kislar Ketke into the left side of the Ckuban there are on its right the hamlets of Galan Ketschu and Jar Schokan, and the wood of Guntimes, with passages across the river.

From the influx of the Ternowka rivulet there are the following Russian places, redoubts, and fortresses, on the right of the Ckuban: 1. The redoubt of Temischbek. 2. The fortress of Kawkaskaja. 3. The redoubt of Kasanskoi. 4. Tifliskoi, a redoubt. 5. Ladogskoi, a redoubt. 6. The fortress of Ust-Labinskaja, the last in the Caucasian government. The following belong to the country of the Cossacks of the Black Sea, and to the government of Tauria. 7. The redoubt of Woroneshkoi. 8. Wassürinskoi, a redoubt. 9. The stanitza Korssunskoi. 10. Plastimiwskoi, a redoubt. 11. Dinskoi, a stanitza. 12. Paschkowskoi, a stanitza. 13. Jekaterinodar, the capital of the Tschernomorzians, with a redoubt. 14. Timoschinskoi, a stanitza. 15. Rogiwskoi, a stanitza. 16. Tschernoi Less. 17. The fortress of Kopyl. 18. Sterilowskoi, a stanitza. 19. Konivskoi, a stanitza. 20. Wedme-

diwskoi, a stanitza. 21. Titariwskoi. 22. Anukoi. 23. Wischesste Bliwskoi; between which last two places the Ckuban discharges itself into the Ckubanian Liman, which empties itself into the Black Sea, between the Russian advanced post Bugas, and another situated on a narrow neck of land opposite to it, which formerly belonged to the Turks, but since Anapa was last taken, has been in the possession of the Russians.

I shall now enumerate the rivers which empty themselves into the left side of the Ckuban, reserving the particular description of them till I come to treat of the different tribes that dwell upon their banks.

1. The little river Teberde, which rises in the lofty snowy mountains on the west side of the Elbrus, and falls into the left of the Ckuban, just below the stone bridge over the latter. On the *Podrobnaja Karta* this river is erroneously named Keberda, and, contrary to all authentic accounts, is represented as uniting with the Ckuban above the stone bridge.

2. The rivulet Schona or Ssona, which rises in the same range, and whose mouth is only seven wersts from that of the preceding. Upon a hill on the left of it, towards the Ckuban, stands an ancient church, which is also called Schona by the Tscherkessians. This edifice, as well as the steeple belonging to it, is much decayed, and is said to have been erected by Frengi, that is, Europeans. Every church in the mountains is denominated by the Tscherkessians Klissi, which, as well as the Turkish Klisia, is a corruption of the Greek ἐκκλησία.

3. The brook Karekent.
4. The Tzaschedsere, into the right side of which runs the rivulet Kubusch.
5. The brook Dshako, that is, in Tscherkessian, *felt-cloak*.

} All three in the range of slate-hills, which gradually sink towards the Ckuban.

6. Next comes, at the distance of near 80 wersts, the mouth of the considerable river called by the Tartars Kitschic Silindshik, but by the Tscherkessians Indschikschié, both which appellations, as well as the Russian Maloi Selentshuk, signify the Little Indschik. It has its source in the Black Mountains from the conflux of several small streams which issue from the snowy range, and are mentioned below. At its mouth was formerly situated a Turkish fort, from which a road runs up the river and leads to the Altekessek Abasses and the Beschilbai, as far as the sources of the Urup; and then proceeds through the country of the Ssuanes over the snowy mountains to the sources of the Chobis, and forward to Mingrelia.

7. The Great Indschik; in Tartar, Ulu-Silindshik; in Tscherkessian, Intschik-

güschgua; and in Russian, Bolschie-Selentschuk. Its mouth is 25 wersts below that of the preceding; and among the slate-hills, at the distance of 80 wersts, there is a bridge over it called by the Tscherkessians Tschelemisch, in Tartar, Jerkopir, both signifying *earthen-bridge*; from which a road leads across the Inal and Urop to the Beslenie, and then proceeds down the Laba. At the source of the Great Indschik, in the high range of slate-hills, just at the foot of the snowy mountains, is seen a church constructed of stone. A little to the north of this church are the ruins of brick edifices, called by the Tscherkessians Madshar-Unneh, that is, *brick-houses*; for in their language, as in that of the Nogay Tartars, Madshar signifies any building of brick.

8. The river called in Tscherkessian Urup, but by the Nogays Uarp or Arp. It rises in Mount Niziri, at the foot of the snowy range, and discharges itself into the Ckuban a few wersts below the redoubt of Ubeshnoi, which stands on the left side of the latter, and near which is the passage of Dshangelde. The mouth of the Urup is 90 wersts below that of the Great Indschik. On this river seems to have been situated the ancient fortress, denominated in the traditions of the Ossetes Uarp-pfidar (the fortress of Uarp), which lay three days' journey beyond the Great Kabardah, and was taken in a miraculous manner by their hero Bahhteras, the son of Chammitz, who suffered himself to be put into a cannon and discharged from it into the town. Though this story is fabulous, yet we may safely infer that the Ossetes formerly made themselves masters of this fortress, as indeed their extension to the west sufficiently demonstrates.

9. The considerable river Laba, which discharges itself into the Ckuban 125 wersts below the Urup, opposite to the fortress of Ust-Labinsk, is formed by two streams, of which the eastern is called in Tscherkessian, Labazuk, and in Tartar Kitschi Laba, that is, the Little Laba, and the western in Tscherkessian Labaschua, and in Tartar, Ulu Laba, or Great Laba, and which unite below Mount Achmet. The Laba receives many other tributary streams from the Black Mountains and the first ranges of the Caucasus, which shall presently be enumerated. Between this river and the first ranges of hills on the west side of the Urup and Ckuban, not far from the place where the latter river changes its course from north-east to due east, are to be seen the traces of an ancient channel or bed, which separates from the Ckuban and unites with it again at the distance of thirty wersts before the influx of the Laba. It is called by the Tartars Ibasch Giran. Its eastern portion, which receives some small streams, is not quite dry, and is denominated also Selentschuk.

10. Thirty wersts below the mouth of the Laba, the Ckuban receives the large

river called by the Tartars Schauketscheh, and by the Tscherkessians Schag'waschа, or Schag'uassa, that is, the *high princess*, and which in the Russian maps is named Schadgascha, but by Reineggs Tschäkoitschä. It rises in the snowy mountains, and is augmented by several smaller streams.

11. The river Ptschass, which issues from the Black or Slate Mountains and receives the Pschass on its right, discharges itself into the Ckuban ten wersts below the preceding.

12. The Schakups, according to the *Podrobnaja Karta*, the Schekumew, rises in the same mountains as the foregoing, and is connected with it by a canal.

13. The river Ssup, in Tartar Kislar Keten, that is, *the girls are drowned*, is considerable, and issues from the high range of slate-hills. It disembogues itself twelve wersts below the preceding into the Ckuban.

14. The Ckara Ckuban, that is in Tartar, the *black Ckuban*, by the Tscherkessians called Afips, is a considerable river, especially when swollen by rains or the melting of the snows, when it is impassable without a boat. It rises at the foot of the snowy mountains, receives several smaller streams, and falls ten wersts from the preceding into the Ckuban, which has low banks from this place, and in spring inundates a tract five or six wersts in breadth, forming marshes, which continue to its mouth.

15. The river Jaman-ssu, signifying in Tartar the *bad water*, is called by the Tscherkessians Otau Schalgan, runs ten wersts from the preceding into the Ckuban, and bounds the morasses formed by it on the south. Thirty-five wersts to the west of it there is a passage over the Ckuban.

16. Forty-five wersts below the mouth of the Jaman-ssu, and not far from the *stanitza* of the Tschernomorzians, situated on the right bank of the Ckuban, and called Tschernoi Less, a branch separates from the latter river, which is likewise denominated Ckara-Ckuban or the *black Ckuban*. After a course of 35 wersts it again unites with the main stream.

17. The river Atakum rises in the range of slate-hills, running from the west side of the Caucasus. Its first branch empties itself into the upper part of the above-mentioned Ckara-Ckuban, and the other, which runs due west, into the Ckubanian Liman of the Black Sea. It receives the following streams from east to west:— Atchir, Bugunder and Ghof, which form morasses, the Sad'scha, which is joined by the Schiptschi, and the Jerly, which forms several lakes between it and the Ckuban. All these are on the right side. On the left it receives the waters of the Bakan, which issues from Mount Schog'alesch, that is, in Tscherkessian, the *old*

white mountain, and runs from west to east; the Chudruk, Issybet, Schuga, Tschukups, and Schukan.

The water of the Ckuban is clear, and its bed in general stony. Its current is rapid in those places where it does not form morasses, but there it runs more slowly, and its water is muddy.

Having thus exhibited a view of the subordinate rivers of the Ckuban, I shall proceed to give some account of the different tribes inhabiting the contiguous countries as far as the highest ranges of the Caucasian mountains, and comprehended by the Russians under the general denomination of Sakubanzi, that is, Transckubanians; though they belong by language and descent to three different nations, the Tscherkessians, Abassians, and Tartars. As I have treated circumstantially of the first in the account of the Great and Little Kabardah, and of the last in another place, I shall here subjoin only some particulars concerning the Abassians.

The Abassians, in Russian Abassinzy, call themselves Absne, but are denominated by the Tartars and Tscherkessians Abasa; and their country is by the Georgians termed Abchasseti. They are distinguished from all the neighbouring nations by their narrow faces, by the figure of their heads, which are compressed on both sides, by the shortness of the lower part of the face, by their prominent noses and dark brown hair. They seem to be aboriginal inhabitants of the north-west part of the Caucasus, and to have spread further before they were cramped up by the Tscherkessians among the mountains, and reduced by repeated slaughters from a numerous nation to their present state. Their peculiar language has, with the exception of a few Tscherkessian words, no resemblance to any known European or Asiatic tongue, and is in common use as far as the Black Sea and Mingrelia. In ancient times their country had its own sovereigns, who are called in the Georgian records *Abchasemephe*. In the sequel it was long subject to the Georgian kings, who were then styled *Abchassethissa da Kharthelissa Mephe*, that is, Kings of Abchasseti and Georgia. During their sway Greek Christianity was introduced; at Bytschwinta on the Black Sea there was even a patriarch, and archbishops at Mokwi and Dranda. Of this religion, however, but few traces are now left, at least among those who live to the north of the snowy mountains; and their nobles profess Islamism. They afterwards rendered themselves independent of Georgia, and are still without any general head. Some tribes on the Black Sea, who have their own prince, acknowledge the supremacy of the Turks; but the others are subject to Tscherkessian princes, whose prerogatives, however, are founded only on the right of the stronger. By the oppressions of these masters their princes are reduced to indigence, so that

whole tribes often elect one or more elders; but it more frequently happens that these lawless hordes make war upon and slaughter one another. In the time of General Fabrizian, who commanded between the years 1770 and 1780 on the Caucasian line, the Alti Kessek Abassians were declared independent of the Tscherkessians, but under his indulgent successors were again subjected to their yoke. At length they were even placed under the superintendence of the latter people, lest, as it was expressed, they should abandon the Russian territories. But now that the troops stationed along the Caucasian line are much more numerous, and the Tscherkessians are obliged to be upon their guard against these, the Abassians receive less molestation from them than formerly.

The Abassians are tolerably peaceable, but begin to make incursions into the Russian territories. When a number of warriors have assembled under an aged sacred oak, they strike a sabre into the tree, and say, *Saspaonja Urussomja nako t'chamcha tatabi*—"We will go against the Russians, let us take and kill them!"

In their domestic habits they bear a considerable resemblance to the Tscherkessians, and they dress like them, except that their coats are shorter. Those who border on Mingrelia wear Imerethian caps. The Abassian villages in the northern Caucasus differ from the Tscherkessian in this point, that the houses are not arranged close together in squares or circles, so as to surround one general court, but stand detached in the woods. They have a small yard; and the whole of the premises are encompassed for security with a strong hedge. In other respects they resemble the Tscherkessian in their internal arrangement and style of building. Besides the apartments of the family, they have separate rooms for the accommodation of guests, and instead of a stove, fire-places of wicker-work plastered with clay. The houses themselves are constructed of the same materials, with a high roof of rafters covered with brush-wood and grass. The bed is a kind of sopha, to the left of the entrance, formed with felts and pillows on a wooden frame. Against the walls of the hut are hung furs, wearing apparel, straw mats of different colours, made by the owners themselves, and their arms. Under the roof they keep the stock of Indian corn which they have collected, suspended in bundles*.

They cultivate culinary vegetables, millet, and pumpkins, and keep poultry and many bees. The commodities which they have to dispose of are honey, wax, foxes' and martens' skins, coarse woollen coats, and felt cloaks, which they export to the

* *Pallas südl. Statthalterschaften* I. 325.

Krym, and in return for which they receive from the Armenians coarse linens, cotton and silk stuffs, Russia hides, Turkey leather, and other necessaries.

As all the Abassians were formerly subject to the Tscherkessians, and the latter still arrogate to themselves an apparent superiority, the Abassian princes are considered as being on an equality only with the Kabardian usdens, and cannot obtain females of higher rank than the daughters of usdens for wives, and these on the other hand marry Abassian princesses. Before they were subject to the Tscherkessians this distinction did not exist. If a Kabardian prince or his guest (kunak) should happen to be robbed by Abassians, they are obliged to restore the plunder, and, by way of punishment, to give up to him three slaves of either sex; but should his friend have been killed he takes nine slaves.

All the Abassians are divided into the Great and Little Abasa or Awasa: to the first belong those tribes also which dwell beyond the Caucasian mountains contiguous to the Black Sea, and are therefore denominated by the Tscherkessians Kusch'basib-Abassi, or Transmontane Abassians. I shall now proceed to the description of the various tribes who reside beyond the Ckuban from its source downwards, or from east to west. For the sake of rendering it the more complete, I shall incorporate the observations of Pallas with my own, so far as they correspond with one another.

1. The Little Abasa, in Tartar Alti Kessek, that is, the Six Pieces, are called by the Tscherkessians Baskéch, and style themselves Tapanta, They partly dwell on this side of the Ckuban, in the country between that river and the Podkuma, and these are Russian subjects, though the Tscherkessians claim the supreme authority over them. Their dependence on the commandant of the little fortress of Konstantinogorsk proves, however, a strong protection to them against their oppressors. These tribes are as follow:—1. Lou, consisting of 1500 souls; 2. Bibert, 1600; 3. Klitsch, 600; 4. Dshantemir, 1700. All of them have recently been much thinned by the plague, so that their real number cannot be accurately stated. These tribes live dispersed in small villages about the Kuma and Podkuma.

Beyond the Russian frontiers there are the following places belonging to the Little Abasa:

1. Klitsch, on the rivulet Kalmursa Dshilgasa, which discharges itself thirteen wersts below the stone bridge into the right side of the Ckuban. They have also the village of Ketschega, which lies lower down on the right bank of the same river.
2. The Tramkt, on the Telerde, which falls into the left side of the Ckuban just below the stone bridge; and likewise on the rivulet Schona, which also dis-

charges itself into the left side of the Ckuban. The tribe of Trankt, both here and on the Besch-tau, is celebrated for its fine breed of horses.

3. The Lôu or Lôu-quadshéh, to the number of about two hundred families, reside on the Little Kardonek, which falls into the right of the Little Indschik.
4. The Asslankt or Aslangeriéh, on the rivulet Akssâut, which unites with the Little Kardenek.
5. The Dudaruquähé, composed of 250 families, are under several elders, the chief of whom is styled By-asslan Dudaruk. They dwell partly on the Little Indschik and partly about 20 wersts from that river on the Great Indschik.
6. The Bibert, on the rivulet Maran or Marauch, which empties itself into the left side of the Little Indschik.

The road from the Russian frontiers to these tribes leads from the redoubt of Ckubanskoi to the Kuma, then up that river past the mountains of Mara and Baramut, over the stone bridge of the Ckuban. It is passable for carriages, though in some places rather hilly. Beyond their settlements are narrow dales bordered with rocks, where you cannot travel except on horseback. The snowy range can be crossed on foot only on both sides of the Indschik; and thus you reach the Imerethian district of Letschkum, contiguous to the source of the Tzchenis-tzqali, the Hippus of the ancients.

The Alti Kessek have not one common chieftain, but are under several usdens, who are honoured only in proportion to their wealth and their possessions. They were strongly attached to the Kabardian prince Adilgeriéh Atashukin, and paid implicit obedience to his commands. He was formerly a prisoner at Jekaterinoslaw, together with Atashuka Chamursin and Issmael Beg Atashuka, but escaped by the assistance of a Nogay, with a two-wheeled Tartar car (*Arba*). On account of various offences against Russia, he was obliged to abandon his residence in the Great Kabardah, and fled with about a hundred Tscherkessian horsemen to the Dudaruk Abasses on the Little Indschick. The number of his followers kept daily increasing, and as a professed enemy to the Russians, he made frequent predatory incursions into their territory. He was in correspondence with all the Mohammedan ecclesiastics of the mountains, and employed their influence to instigate the tribes dwelling beyond the Ckuban to a war of religion against Russia. Providence, however, was pleased to frustrate his machinations, for he died of the plague in 1807, and out of his whole troop only three survived.

These Abasses, who are at enmity with Russia, have nevertheless friends and kindred on the Russian side, who secretly cross the Ckuban to visit them. When

a favourable opportunity offers, they likewise make excursions beyond the Cossack *stanitzas*, in order to plunder the adjacent villages, in company with the Nogays, and divide the booty with them and the Abasses who dwell within the Russian boundaries. Here the Kabardian banditti find an asylum; and such is the connection subsisting between them and these people, that they frequently bring their booty, consisting of captives and cattle, for sale, across the Ckuban. All these abuses might easily be prevented by the neighbouring Nogays, who are subject to Russia, were they not also in alliance with the Abasses.

They are subject to the princes of the Kabardah, and yield obedience to the lowest of their *Agassir*. Any of them has a right to take from an Abasse not only cattle for his subsistence, but also his wife for a bed-fellow, whom he sends back again in a few days. The Abasses are an industrious people, and would be opulent were they not so cruelly fleeced by the Tscherkessians.

2. The Beschilbai are Abasses, and formerly inhabited the woody hills near the rivulets Jefir and Zich, which having united fall into the Great Indschik; also the country bordering on that river itself, as well as on the source of the Urup, and partly on the Great and Little Tegenn, which rise in the lofty flötz-mountains, and fall into the Urup on the left side. At present, however, they do not reside on the Great Indschik and its tributary streams, but on the Urup alone, having left the neighbourhood of the former because they suffered there very severely from the plague. They speak a corrupt dialect of the Abassian, and have their own princes; the most powerful of whom are Issmael and Kusch. The Kabardians have nevertheless the supreme authority over them. They are obstinate and intractable, and, in spite of the Russian expedition against them, have never submitted. In their character and way of life they resemble the other Abasses. On account of the woods and mountains which they inhabit, they are less engaged in agricultural pursuits, the only cultivated lands lying low near the Urup. They are principally employed in the rearing of goats, sheep, and bees. In autumn and spring they keep their flocks in the low lands of the Great and Little Indschik, near the Russian boundary line; in summer upon the mountains, and in winter at their own habitations. Among these people you frequently meet with the intoxicating honey which the bees extract from the azalea pontica and the rhododendron.

The only road that leads to them is extremely inconvenient, and for the most part inaccessible to the traveller, excepting on foot. It leads from the redoubt of Newinnoi to the passage of the Ckuban called by the Tartars Szulukis, along the right bank of the Great Indschik, 75 wersts; you then cross that river by a bridge,

and proceed through the narrow defile of the rivulet Inal, which falls into the left of the Urup (about 16 wersts), and from its mouth through another narrow pass up the Urup, ten wersts. The road here is very heavy, and the traveller is obliged to cross frequently from one side of the Urup to the other, till he comes to the first settlement, situated in a plain three wersts in length and about a hundred fathoms in breadth. Beyond this is another defile two wersts long, without wood, which afterwards opens and leads to the snowy mountains.

As the habitations of the Beschilbai are so difficult of access, and they are themselves so strongly addicted to plunder, criminals belonging to the Abasses residing in the Russian territory often take refuge among them, and incite them to make incursions on the Russian frontiers.

3. The Nogays, who consisted of 450 families, and once resided in the country contiguous to the lower part of the Great Indschik, about 25 wersts from the Russian boundary line, are now removed to the river Chotz, which empties itself, 30 wersts below the conflux of the Great and Little Laba, into the left of that river; but, as they lead a roving life, and have not room enough there, it is not improbable that they will soon return to their former pastures. Their princes are Achmet Gerai Manzur Oglu, and the two nephews of Colonel Atashuka Chamursin by his sister, Mussa and Murza Bek Manzur Oglu, who live peaceably with their subjects. As all their princes belong to the tribe of Manzur Oglu, they are called by the Russians Manssurowzi, and by the Tscherkessians Mamzírru'ko. Among them resides Bekmursa Manzur Oglu, a brother of Arslan Bek Manzur Oglu, who lives on the Russian side. Bekmursa himself originally resided among the Russians, but fled with his subjects, and committed many murders and depredations; but after the death of his brother Kelman-bek he joined his nephew, and now leads a peaceable roving life.

In the neighbourhood of these Nogays lives also Sselim Gerai Ademejew, an Atalik or uncle of Major-general Ssulthan Mengli Gerai, descended from the Chans of the Krym. His subjects consist of forty families, with whom he is constantly engaged in plunder He affords protection in his *Aul* to the notorious robber Roslan-beg Taganow and his brother Dshambulat Taganow, who indeed does not live with him, but among the Little Abasses; yet whenever the former goes out on an expedition against the Russians, the latter repairs to the Aul of Sselim Gerai, and there remains till the party returns, and the booty is divided.

These Nogays, dwelling beyond the Ckuban, on the two rivers Indschik, might have been easily persuaded to return to the Russian side, before they removed to

the Chotz; but the incapacity and avarice of the officers on the frontiers proved incessant obstacles. The road to them was very good in spring and autumn; and their cattle grazed on the Little Indschik, only seven wersts from the boundary line. In summer they kept them in the Black Mountains, and in winter at their Auls. They lived in felt jurtes, and often changed their place of abode. They maintain a good understanding with the Abasses of Lôu and Dudaruk, as also with the Beschilbai.

4. The Beslenié are descended from the same stock as the Tscherkessians, and their princes are allied to those of the Kabardah, their common progenitor being Kanuka. They reside, to the number of 1500 families, on the Upper Laba, where it issues from among the high mountains, and extend downwards to the Chotz, which falls into the left side of the Laba, and to the source of the rivulet Psefir, which empties itself into the right of the Jaman-ssu. They here border upon the Muchosch. Their most powerful prince was Kasil-beg Kanuka, who is now dead. He was succeeded by his elder and younger brother Bekmursa Roslanbek and Mursabek Kanuka, who are cousins to the wife of Atashuka Chamursin. The leaders of the Beslen go out to plunder with the Kabardians and the Nogays residing in the Russian territory, and share the booty with them. The captive Russians they sell to the inhabitants of the more remote mountains, reserving children only for themselves. The Beslenié go with passes as Kabardians to all the places on the Caucasian line, for the purpose of bartering and purchasing commodities. In winter they keep their cattle in wattled inclosures near their habitations on the Laba, but in spring and autumn they pasture on the Urup, the Great Indschik, and the salt-water stream Kasma which discharges itself into the Ckuban. Their herds and flocks, particularly of sheep, are very numerous.

Their hills are inaccessible, and they are continually at variance with the rest of the mountaineers, whooften carry off men, oxen and other cattle. Under their protection are the two villages of the Muchaschew, who have fled from the Muchosch, and settled on the river Machmach, which falls into the Chotz. They consist of a hundred families, who have no prince, but two elders, Mamadsef and Medrup. Their pastures adjoin those of the Beslen. The Beslenié live upon the best terms with the more remote Temirgoi, the Muchosch, and the Nogays who have removed from the Indschik to them on the Chotz, and likewise with the Naurus Aul. They are also in correspondence with those who rove about on the Russian side.

5. In the country contiguous to the uppermost part of the Laba the little Abassian tribe of the Midawi or Madoweh reside in very strong and elevated situations.

They are not Mohammedans, and live perfectly independent, having neither princes nor elders, but electing the bravest and strongest for their leader.

6. The Barrakai are Abasses, and akin to those who dwell near the Turkish fortress of Sochum-ckala'h. They amount to about 560 families, and live in woods and mountainous tracts, 30 wersts from the Beslenié, along the river Chotz and its tributary streams. A considerable part of them also inhabit both sides of the Gut which in like manner discharges itself into the Chotz. These districts, over which they are dispersed, are called Kunaktaw and Shigil-buluko. They have recently embraced Islamism, and some of them still eat pork. They had formerly no general chieftain, each family being under its particular elder; but they are now subject to the princes Adilgerai, Hhadschi-a'li, and Bsege'us, all three of the family of Kontschak. They were some time since under the authority of the Kabardians, and afterwards of the Beslenié, but no longer pay obedience to either. When they are molested by these or other tribes, they withdraw into the high mountains, where their habitations are not to be found in summer. They are rich in cattle, and possess excellent pasturage; but are very rude and savage, and often make incursions into the Russian territories, with the Abasses, for the sake of plunder.

7. The Kasilbeg are Abasses descended from the same stock as the Madowch: they dwell on the highest summits of the Caucasus, between the sources of the Great and Little Laba, and south-westward as far as the Black Sea. They border on the Beslenié, comprehend about 200 families, and are under the jurisdiction of elders, the principal of whom are Herow, Papnéh, Kanimat, and Adschi-bey. Seated among rocky crags, they live independent, and are subject to no other tribe. The son of colonel Atashuka Chamursin, named Dshambulat, was brought up among this tribe. As Ssulthan Kasilbeg, who committed many depredations in the Russian territory, formerly resided among them, they have received from him the name of Kasilbeg.

8 and 9. The Abassian tribes of Tschegreh or Tschagrai and Bagh dwell on the lofty mountains on the left bank of the Laba and the streams which fall into that river. They form in some measure one people with the preceding, but are tributary to the Beslenié, and are governed by one elder, named Zichischeh. Their pastures are in the mountains; and they make predatory excursions in conjunction with the Beslenié, who assist them in return.

10. The Muchosch, in Russian Mochoschewzi, a Tscherkessian tribe, comprehending 670 families, resides at the foot of the woody Black Mountains, whence issue many small streams, which after running through a fertile tract discharge them-

selves into the Jaman-ssu. They possess the following streams, reckoning from east to west:

1. Schimblonache and Schograg, which, having united, fall into the Laba on the left. Here they chiefly keep their cattle and their bees.
2. Psefir, on which are the villages of Merberi and Kurgukau.
3. Psechusch, with the three villages of Nerberi, belonging to an usden of the same name who is under Prince Ssalat Gerai Baharsuka. These three rivulets fall in an united stream into the Jaman-ssu.
4. Pfarsch, or Jaman-ssu-Ssosurakai, with three villages.
5. Ponako, which empties itself into the left side of the Jaman-ssu, with the villages of Delbugai.
6. Kalch, which likewise falls into the Jaman-ssu, and near which are the villages of Bierhabel and Deschuka belonging to the above-mentioned Ssalat Gerai.
7. Arim, with the villages of Labugai, which falls into the right of the Bulan-ssu, and forms the western boundary of the Muchosch.

These Muchosch are rich in cattle; they are also engaged in agriculture, and live, after the Tscherkessian manner, in permanent villages. Their princes are of the family of Baharsuka; their present head is named Hopatsch, and is notorious for his depredations on the Russian frontiers. He is in close friendship with the Kabardian prince and colonel Kutschuk, but is at ennity with Rosslan-bek, of the house of Misoist, because the latter deserted his sister, whom he had married and by whom he had two children, on which she took a second husband.

The Muchosch keep their cattle in pens during the winter; in summer at pasture, on the left bank of the Laba; and in spring and autumn near the Ckuban, on the rivers Schackmik and Schebarta. The road to them leads from Protschnoi Okop, over the Ckuban and the heights between that river and the Tschelbok, which falls into the right side of the Laba, and then across the Laba and the Schograg. The Russian troops were often in their vicinity.

They are neighbours of the Temirgoi, who had two villages destroyed, and 100 men carried off, by the Russian Nogays, in 1805. They are now harassed on all sides, and their prince Hopatsch was for twelve months a prisoner to the Russians, during which time his hands and feet suffered considerable injury from the frost. Not long before the Russians had destroyed two of his villages, and driven away the flocks. The Abasech also plunder the Muchosch, carrying off men and cattle; so that a few years since Hopatsch resolved to repair to Georgiewsk, and to submit wholly to the crown of Russia, on condition that his people should have lands on

the Ckuban assigned for their residence. Were this plan to be executed, and some neighbouring tribes reduced to subjection, Russia would gain this important advantage, that they would defend the Ckubanian line against the Kabardians and other depredators.

Hopatsch is also at enmity with the Abasech, because his brother was killed by Schamacho Naurusi. Having gone out on a predatory excursion against the Abasech, he fell in with a party of Kabardians, who, not knowing his person, mistook him for an enemy, fired upon and dispatched him. These Kabardians being afterwards questioned who had killed him, threw all the blame upon an Abasech who accompanied them. Schamacho Naurusi ordered him to be beheaded, and hung upon a tree; after which he returned to the Kabardah.

11. Naurus-Aul. These consist of 650 Nogay families, of the horde of Ackkerman, who reside near the Lower Laba, opposite to the fortresses of Kawkaskaja and Ust-Labinskaja, and are akin to the Naurus who are settled on the Russian side. Their chief princes are Ckara Mursa, Ibasch Oglu, Bahatir Schah Kassai Oglu, Roslan-beg-Achmat Oglu, and Kelmik Adshi (or Hhadshi) Oglu. After some disputes among them, Roslan beg and Bahatir Schah placed themselves under the authority of the Beslenié, and the others under that of the Temirgoi. They are extremely addicted to plunder, and their most courageous leader is Aslan Gerai Urus Oglu. They have pastures on both sides of the Laba, where the cattle are kept in inclosures. In autumn and spring they leave the Laba, and drive their flocks and herds to the Tschalmik or Tschelbok.

12. The Tubi and Ubuch, who speak a dialect of the Abassian language, dwell in very strong situations among the mountains, from the most elevated districts watered by the rivers Schag'wascha and Psach to the lofty snow-mountains and the Black Sea. They are great robbers, and grow a great quantity of good wine, which they call Sana. The soil possessed by them is fertile, and needs no tillage. They have no princes, but only usdens; they do not live in villages, but their houses are scattered by three or four together in the woods.

13. The Bsubbeh, an Abassian tribe, dwelling to the south-west of the preceding, on the hills running out from the snowy mountains and gradually sinking towards the Black Sea. They occupy the country as far as Soghum-ckal'ah.

14. The Abasech, a considerable tribe, of Tscherkessian origin, and speaking also a corrupt dialect of the Tscherkessian language, formerly resided on the highest snowy range of the western Caucasus. As they daily increased in number, they spread lower among the black slate-mountains, and strengthened themselves still

more by carrying off captives from among the neighbouring tribes, whom they employed in the operations of agriculture. Many foreign refugees also fled hither, and settled among them. Hence they are now become so intermixed, that none but the nobles can be considered as genuine Abasech. At present they reside in the upper regions of the rivers Pfarsch, Pfesir, P'schap, and P'schach, which is the last in their country in the Black Mountains overgrown with wood. According to other accounts, however, their settlements extend westward from the Laba to the river Sabdja, not far from the Turkish fortress of Anapa, over a tract 250 wersts in length on both sides of the snowy range.

This whole tract they inhabit, to the amount of 15,000 families, without leaving any considerable intervals. They derive the name of Abasech from a celebrated Tscherkessian beauty who formerly resided among them, for in the Kabardian language *Abasech dache* signifies a beautiful woman.

Their fields are not large, and the villages are generally composed of a few houses only, but lie very near to one another. Each individual has his farm, and a small wood, which he surrounds with a hedge, and thus possesses within his little domain pasturage for his cattle, wood, and arable land. All these settlements are distinguished by the names of the owners, and the houses are constructed exactly in the Tscherkessian style. The country is hilly, but abounds in rivers and springs.

The Abasech have no princes, but only elders or usdens, the principal of whom are named Aedik, Aenamok, Aentschiko, and Dshangat. Among these people was bred Colonel Atashuka Chamursin, and likewise Colonel Dgé Roslan-beg Missaost; and the sons of the Kabardian prince Kutschuk and his nephew Dewlet Mursa are now with them for the same purpose. They have also pasture-grounds on both sides of the Laba, but such as live near the Bsheduch and Schapsich dispense with them.

The Abasech are divided into three principal branches, which exactly resemble one another in their way of life. These are the Aenamok, comprehending 29 families; the Aentschiko, 20 families; and the Aedshigh, 10 families.

They have, strictly speaking, no religion, and eat pork; but many of the usdens have for these ten years professed Islamism: but they are not yet very firmly established in the faith. To friends they are extremely hospitable, and will make any sacrifices for their sakes. Guests are waited upon by the host himself, never by servants, and accompanied to the next Kunak. Among them are many captive Russians and deserters from the army; for the tribes dwelling nearer to the Ckuban do not venture to retain their prisoners, lest they should seek refuge in the

Russian territory, and therefore sell them to the Abasech, who again dispose of them to the yet more remote Kubichan inhabiting the country beyond the snowy mountains contiguous to the sea. They are thence transported to Anatolia and Egypt. These, however, are only prisoners from among the mountaineers; for they are afraid to sell Russians as slaves to the Turks, as they might regain their liberty, return home, and thus draw down infallible chastisement upon the Transckubanians.

Should an army be sent against the Abasech, and especially if it should have to take along with it cannon and provisions, it must march up the Schag'wascha, which, issuing from the snowy mountains, runs through a narrow valley, and must very often be crossed to avoid hills and rocks that obstruct the way on either side. It is possible also to proceed with light artillery along the rivers Kudshit and Pschi, which fall into the Schag'wascha, and upon which there are open places. Should hostilities ever be commenced against these people, the Tscherkessians and other mountaineers would certainly join the Russians, that they might recover their runaway and captive subjects.

15. Kemurquähe, a numerous Tscherkessian tribe, of 5000 families, called by the Tartars Temirgoi. They border with the Muchosh on the rivulet Arim; on which, below Labugai, is situated the Temirgoi village of Tscherichai. The inhabitants are descended from the Egorokoi, and belong to Prince Aslam Gerieh and Atashuka Aitekko. To this same Aitekko belong also the Egorokoi village of Ratasai on the Butanssu, which falls into the Laba, and the villages of Minbulatai, Psinaok, and Gaur habla, an opulent Armenian village, all three on the Schag'wascha. This river is equal in magnitude to the Laba; and the Temirgoi inhabit the adjacent country, where they have several villages. At its source the mountains begin to take a more south-westerly direction, till they are lost towards the Black Sea. The Black Mountains, with their extensive forests, stretch away to the north-west as far as Anapa, and are inhabited by Abasech. The left bank of the Schag'wascha is high, but the right bank flat: the river is every where bordered with wood, and runs through a country highly favourable to agriculture and grazing till at length it empties itself into the Ckuban below Laba. The rivulet Psega or Pschaba forms the boundary of the Temirgoi, and upon it are situated three more of their villages, Chakemsi, of the nobleman Chakemis, and three others, Ademier Neschuchai, all which are under Prince Aitekko. This rivulet issues from the snowy mountains, and falls into the left of the Schag'wascha. The whole tribe of the Temirgoi possesses more than forty villages, and can raise upwards of 2000 armed men. They are at present at enmity with the Kabardian princes, but on good terms with the

Beslenié, Muchosch, and Bsheduch, and the united force of all these allies forms a body of at least 5000 men. The Temirgoi are wealthy, and are the most cleanly of all the Tscherkessians. All their villages are fortified. Strong poles set up cross-wise, having the space below filled, and the upper defended by thorn bushes, form an impenetrable barrier against their enemies, the Abassian mountain tribes of Tubi and Ubuch, with whom they have frequent rencounters.

The Ademi are a race of the Temirgoi inhabiting several villages on the Psega, and the country contiguous to the lower part of the Psische. Their most powerful prince is Besruko, of the house of Aitekko, a son of the above-mentioned Atashuka Aitekko, and the others are his brothers, the eldest of whom is named Missaost. His nephews also are people of consequence. Issmael Tlekishuk, who gave out on the Line that he was a prince, is only an usden, or nobleman of Besruko's. Hashali Mohammed of the house of Kiraï, and another Issmael, both nephews of Issmael Tlekishuk, are celebrated leaders and robbers among them. They plundered in association with him on the Caucasian Line, when he received half the booty for his share, which he carried back to the Russians, pretending that it had been recovered by him. For these supposed services he was rewarded with a Russian rank, and obtained the most flattering testimonials from the Russian commanders in chief.

In winter the Temirgoi pasture their cattle in inclosures near their villages; in summer they keep them on both sides of the Laba, but drive them in spring and autumn beyond the Laba towards the Ckuban.

16. Before the Russian boundary along the Ckuban was determined and marked out, the Tscherkessian tribe of the Bsheduch was settled on both sides of that river. They now, to the number of 670 families, inhabit the country watered by the following streams:

1. Psische, on which are situated the village of Edepsuchai, of the usden Batuk, and the villages of Karagus, belonging to an usden of the same name.
2. Psachomat, with the villages of Gabuchai and Netuchai, or Neschuchai, belonging to the usden Netusch. These two rivulets, having united, fall into the Ckuban, as does also the next.
3. Schakups (on the *Podrobnaja Karta* Schekumew), on which are the villages of Laktschukai, Chatugui, and Mamrukai, all belonging to Prince Chalmisch.
4. Tschebi, with the villages of Schirgi and Tugurgi, subject to the same.
5. The river Ssup, in Tartar Kislar Ketken, on which lies the village of Juem.

The Bsheduch, among whom resides one family of the Abasech, pay some attention to agriculture and the rearing of cattle, but are more strongly addicted to plunder than their neighbours, with whom they are often engaged in quarrels. The chief of their princes are Batmirsa, of the family of Pschekui; Batir Mursa, of the house of Otschuka; Dshantschik, of the tribe of Karepai; and Ajubono, of the family of Chalmisch. They now pasture their cattle in the neighbourhood of their villages, and live after the Kabardian fashion. They commit frequent depredations on the territory of the Tschernomorzians.

17. The Tscherkessian tribe Hattiquähe, called by the Russians Attigoi, or Hattukai, composed of 400 families, formerly occupied the country westward of the Ckara Ckuban, on the rivulets Ubin, Gill, and Assips, or Aschips, extending to the morasses of the Ckuban, which are bounded on the south by the Jaman-ssu, between the Tschernomorzian Cossacks and the Schapschik: but as they were continually molested by the latter, and were also at variance with the Tschernomorzians, they some years since abandoned their ancient abodes, and betook themselves to the Temirgoi, with whom they now reside on the Schag'wascha. They are tolerably peaceable, and serve as a barrier to the fortress of Ust-Labinsk against the attacks of other tribes. The Tschernomorzians also now bitterly regret their former animosity against these people, whose departure has left them exposed to the depredations of the Schapschick. Their chief prince is Aslan Gerai, of the family of Kerekai.

18. The Schapschik amount to 10,000 families, and are descended from the same stock as the Kabardian Tscherkessians; but as they, like the Abasech, afford an asylum to every fugitive, they are now so intermixed that very few of pure Tscherkessian blood are left among them. They dwell to the westward of the Bsheduch, on the woody range of hills that runs towards Anapa, on the rivulets Antihir, Bugundur, on which streams are situated the villages of Abat, belonging to a nobleman of that name, Apin, Afiss, Tschebik, Ssatassa, Bakan, and Schips. Most of them are, like the Abasech, dispersed in families; but on the Ssatassa and Tschebik you meet with larger villages. They pay little attention to agriculture and the breeding of cattle, choosing rather to live by plunder. They have no princes; but he whose family is the most powerful, or who is himself the most daring robber, is considered as their chief. Their principal leaders at present are Achbat, Kuhosch, Schetluk, Aslangerieh, and Arschak. They make frequent incursions upon the Tschernomorzians on the Russian frontier; and it is highly necessary to adopt speedy measures for their reduction, otherwise they bid fair to become as dangerous

to the western part of the Line as the Tschetschenzes are to the eastern. They even surpass the latter in bodily vigour and in the strength of their places of abode. Should Russia make any efficient attempt to reduce these people, she would certainly be seconded by all the Transckubanians, who are incessantly harassed by them: but should their chastisement be much longer deferred, the neighbouring tribes, observing the booty which they take from the Tschernomorzians, will be tempted to follow their example.

The Schapschik speak a corrupt Tscherkessian dialect. They extend westward to the mountains whence issues the Bakan, which by the Tscherkessians are denominated Schog'alesch, that is, the *old white mountains*, because they are composed of a white species of stone. They are crossed by the road to the Turkish fortress of Anapa, which may be seen from them at the distance of forty wersts.

19. The Netchquadsha, Natchu-kaitsch, by the Russians Natuchaschi, are an Abassian tribe, dwelling to the westward of the Schapschik, on the furthest part of the Black Mountains, as far as the rivulet Meskjach, that is, the Long Wood, which empties itself into the Black Sea. Their settlements are situated on the following streams:

1. Attakum, a small river which, after receiving several rivulets, runs parallel to the Ckuban through a long morass, and at length falls into the left side of the latter. Its banks are inhabited by the family of Kuisuk.
2. Bakan, on which is the village of Kalabat, and near which reside many scattered families. The Bakan divides the mountains from south-west to north-east, and forms a deep defile, through which runs the direct road to Anapa. At the extremity of the defile it falls into the Attakum. Above the defile, on the road to Sudschuk-ckala'h, are the settlements of the family of Charsek.
3. Zemes: it falls into the harbour of Sudschuk-ckala'h; to the south of this stream the Netschquadsha possess fifteen other rivulets, and border upon the Great Abasa.

In the range of mountains running northward to the Ckuban, they possess, in a tract of 40 wersts along the Ckuban, from west to east, the following rivulets:

4. Tasipsh, on which resides the family of Schubak, under Naurus the elder.
5. Dshup, whose banks are occupied by the family of Chasan-Schuksche.
6. Pribebs, on which dwells the family of Isslam-Schucksche.
7. The Chups, and
8. Nefil or Nepil, on which are the villages of Schupako-Kascho the elder.

9. Pfif.—Between this rivulet and the Nefil lies a regular quadrangle, encompassed with a rampart and ditches, and which has had four outlets, like a Roman camp. On the north side, toward the morasses of the Ckuban, high artificial hills (*Kurgani*) have been thrown up, which can have been no other than small fortresses. Tradition relates that it was formerly the residence of a Chan of the Temirgoi, and was called Schantgir. The Temirgoi and Tscherkessians assert that their progenitors inhabited this place. The encampment is bounded to the west by the Nefil, and to the east by the Pfif, and is about three wersts in diameter*.

10. Kudaka. On this stream are situated the villages of the elders Nemeri-Primurse and Schupako-Kascho. At the place where the river issues from among the mountains are springs of naphtha.

The Netchquadsha are the most powerful of the Abasses on this side of the mountains, and reside in valleys bordered with rocks, which are every where clothed with brush-wood. Their country is consequently not adapted to tillage; but with the rich pastures which they possess they ought to pay more attention to the rearing of cattle. Their incessant quarrels, and their propensity to plunder, prevent them however from pursuing any regular occupation. They are at enmity with all their neighbours except the Shana, on whom they border. Their clothing is mean, and their way of living miserable. They grow some rye, and occasionally keep swine; animals very rarely met with among the neighbouring nations.

20. The Shana or Shani, a small Tscherkessian tribe, which comprehended only six villages, four of which were situated on the river Attakum, and two on a small lake below it. They were formerly settled on the right bank of the Ckuban, above Kopyl; but on the approach of the Russian troops in 1778 they fled to the left bank, together with the inhabitants of Thaman. They belonged at that time to the prince Missaost Melik Gerai Shana, and could raise two hundred men completely armed. These people employed themselves in tillage, and also possessed cattle, but were poorer than the rest of the Tscherkessians, and on that account great robbers. They have been almost wholly exterminated by the Tschernomorzian Cossacks, and now, to the number of only twenty or thirty families, reside under their princes Alias Melik Gerai and Metahhuko, near the rivulets Pschez and Chochai, the latter of which is eight wersts from Anapa, opposite to the little Turkish fortress of Talissini.

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* Pallas *nrdl. Statthalt.* I. 370.

21. The small Tscherkessian tribe S'chegakeh occupies the tract immediately below Anapa on the Bugur, and its subordinate streams. Their name is Tscherkessian, and signifies *dwelling near the sea*. *S'che* means sea, and *S'che pxitsa'*, the Black Sea. They had a prince named Mamet Gerai-Shana, and were formerly seated on the spot where Anapa now stands: but their numbers have been greatly reduced by the incursions of the Netchquadsha, and the ravages of the plague. Their prince was opulent, engaged in commerce, and kept several vessels on the Black Sea.

22. The former inhabitants of Thaman, who fled on the taking of the Krym, were partly Tartars of the tribe of Bulnady, partly Tscherkessians, and were distinguished by the Tartar name of Adaly, or *Islanders*. They removed thence to the left bank of the Ckuban, and along the Liman, and dwelt in villages under their old appellation Adaly. They raised corn and fruit; but their principal occupation was fishing. At the reduction of Anapa in 1791 many of them perished; and since that time they have quite dwindled away, or become incorporated with the neighbouring tribes.

23. On the south side of the snowy range of mountains, and in the plain contiguous to the Black Sea, are settled the Abassian tribes Ubuch, Schaschi, Ibsip, Kubichan, Aratchowass, Bah, and Nalkupi Madshawi, who are denominated by the Tscherkessians Kusch'hasip Abassi, that is, the Transmontane Abasses. They have no princes; but whoever unites the properties of a swift runner and a daring robber, is considered by them as an extraordinary person, and to him they pay obedience. They frequently undertake predatory expeditions on foot against the Hither Abasses. Their number is not ascertained; but according to the report of the Transckubanians, it is little inferior to their own. All of them cultivate the vine, especially the Ubuch (see above, No. 12.), who make a great quantity of excellent wine. Fruit also is plentiful among them; as apples, cherries, plums, peaches, (in Tartar Schäftalu, commonly pronounced Tscheptala,) nuts, and chesnuts, which in many places grow wild. Among them, as in Mingrelia, is to be found the stone-honey, which is dissolved in water, and drunk. Their country abounds in particular with box-trees of prodigious dimensions, the wood of which constitutes an important article of trade, and is exported to Constantinople and Triest.

Besides the tribes enumerated above, there are some descendants of the Krymean Ssulthans, who have taken refuge in the regions beyond the Ckuban, but have few or no followers. They are comprehended by the Tartars and Tscherkessians under the general appellation of Ssulthanie.

Murad Gerai Chass Gerai resides on the Laba above the Naurus-Aul, and his subjects amount to no more than about forty families.

His brother Dewlet Gerai Chass Gerai is settled among the Abasech in the Black Mountains, on the river Kudshups. His dependents also number about forty families only.

The children of the late Ssulthan Aslan Gerai, and the brothers of Major-general Ssulthan Mengli Gerai, reside among the Nogays on the Great Selentschuk, near Achmet Gerai Manzurow. They are in very indigent circumstances.

The other Ssulthanian family of the children of the Ssulthan Kasilbeg, who are dispersed in several places, wander from tribe to tribe. One of them, Gerik Kasilbeg oglu, accompanies the notorious Dshambulat Taganow in his predatory excursions: both formerly dwelt between the Temirgoi and the Abasech, but have fled to the Schapschik, among whom they now reside.

All these have but the empty title of Ssulthans, with scarcely any power; they cannot compel any man to attend them in their expeditions, but are accompanied by volunteers alone.

Anapa was founded in 1784 by the Turks, when Russia had taken possession of the Krym and the island of Thaman, as a protection for the fugitive inhabitants of the latter, and the Nogays roving about on the Ckuban. This fortress is situated on a projecting eminence of the chain of Kysilkaja, the foot of which adjoins a plain of three wersts next to the sea: when Lieutenant-general von Gudowitsch took it by storm in 1791, its ramparts were only of earth: but after this place, together with Sudshuck-chala'h, were restored to the Turks, they fortified it with a wall twenty arschines in height and six feet thick. Before the last conquest of Anapa the works were in very bad condition, but abundantly provided with cannon. The inhabitants and the garrison fled on the approach of the Russians, as the Turkish troops which they expected to their succour did not arrive, and they were plundered by the Schapschik and the Netchquadsha who should have come to their assistance. When the Russians bombarded the town there were but a few old women left in it, and the assailants would have gained possession without the loss of a single man, but for the explosion of a quantity of gunpowder in a cellar, occasioned by the carelessness of one of the officers.

Sudshuck-ckala'h is another Turkish fortress situated 25 wersts to the south of Anapa, on a bay into which the rivulet Zemes disembogues itself. The name, literally translated, signifies *Sausage-castle;* but among the Tscherkessians it is properly denominated Dshugo Zukckala'h; that is, the *Castle of Little Mice*, from *Dshugo*, mouse; *zuk*, little; and *Ckala'h*, castle; because at its erection great numbers of

field-mice were found in the vicinity. After the taking of Anapa, the Turks and the Nekrasow Cossacks, who resided here with them, left this country, and removed to Anatolia. It is now in the hands of the Russians, and is inhabited by a few of the Ubuch only. It contains but one stone well with fresh water. This little fortress is of considerable antiquity, and occurs in the Italian charts of the Black Sea by the name of Zurzuchi (Dsurdsuki), Porto de Susaco, and Porto Suaco. The walls are built of brick.

Soghum-Ka'la, commonly written Ssochum-ckala'h, is the chief fortress of the Turks on the coast of the Black Sea, between Thamân and Mingrelia, and the principal seat of traffic for the inhabitants of the Western Caucasus, who here barter their booty, prisoners, and produce, for Turkish commodities. The neighbouring country is inhabited by Abasses, and not far off, among the mountains, are the abodes of the Bsubbeh. Soghum signifies in the Turkish language, as spoken in Anadoli, *to slaughter fat cattle.* Tzchomi is the Georgian name of this town, which is likewise called Durr Dup; that is, *Pearl mountain.* Abulfeda makes mention of it by the name of Sachum, and styles it a Georgian town.

The tribes dwelling beyond the Ckuban are yet unknown even by name to the Russians on the Caucasian Line, and they are all comprehended under the general appellation of Sakubanzi (Transckubanians), however they may differ in language and manners. To this also it is owing that no success has attended the means hitherto employed to keep them in order, for which purpose advantage ought to be taken of the dissensions that prevail among them. They never make a predatory incursion into the Russian territory till the matter has been debated in an assembly of their chiefs: and when menaced with an attack from the Russians, they unite for their mutual defence, and convey their wives, children, and most valuable property to inaccessible strong-holds.

To chastise them for their depredations, only so many troops are required as can be collected with secrecy and dispatch, which are essentially necessary, that they may not receive previous intimation of the design. To accomplish this object it is likewise requisite to have a body of good and well-armed cavalry to disperse them as speedily as possible. No more than 200 Cossacks, 100 Jägers, and one gun would be wanted to drive away the cattle belonging to those who reside nearer to the Ckuban. Numerous corps, which have occasion for much baggage, cannot procure supplies

in their places of abode except in winter; and then no apprehensions of want of fuel and hay need be entertained, for there is every where abundance of wood; and no sooner are these people apprized of the approach of the Russians, than they abandon the villages, leaving behind their cattle and hay. When the troops have taken possession of such deserted villages, whose inhabitants have fled into the mountains, they should not quit them again immediately, but continue there four or five days, when, impelled by famine and want, the fugitives will return of themselves, and make a voluntary submission.

A commodity of which they are more particularly in want is salt: this they need not only for themselves but also for their cattle, especially the sheep, which die in great numbers unless they are supplied with it. They therefore purchase it at a very high price, as contraband, of the Tschernomorzians and of our Nogays, in whose country it is found in ponds, and who themselves pay only one ruble fifty copecks for as much as will load a two-wheeled Tartar cart (*arba*). In the whole tract beyond the Ckuban there is no salt, except in the rivulet Kasma, which falls into the Ckuban eight wersts below Protschnoi Okop, and to which therefore they frequently drive their flocks.

With the exception of salt and linen they were formerly accustomed to purchase all the articles which they needed of the Turks at Anapa, but were obliged to pay thrice as dear for them as to the Russians.

It is poverty as well as a natural propensity to plunder that makes them free-booters. Formerly they were not perfectly acquainted with the road into the Russian territory, and always went thither in large parties on predatory expeditions, in association with the Nogays and the Kabardians; but the Nogay Mursas, who have fled to them from the Russian side, as Tagan Oglu, Bekmursa of the house of Manzur, and others, have taught them the way, and enriched themselves by sharing the booty. As they have several times been overtaken and deprived of their prey by the Russians, on which occasions many of their number have fallen, they are now so much the more exasperated against the latter.

It would be an easy matter to restore order, and keep them in awe, by attention to the following points:

1. A small fortress should be erected at the stone bridge over the Ckuban, and strongly garrisoned, to prevent the Kabardians from having any intercourse with them, selling their prisoners to them, and committing depredations in the Russian

territory, either jointly with the Transckubanians, or alone in their name. On the other hand, the Russians, if they had been plundered by the Kabardians only, ought not to make reprisals upon the Transckubanians.

2. Magazines of salt should be established at the following places:

a. At the Cossack post of the regiment of Tabunschikow, on the Batmakle;

b. At Protschnoi Okop; and

c. On the Laba;

that the Transckubanians might be able to procure salt at the same price at which it is sold on the Line. At these magazines Russian traders might be permitted to traffic with them; these would buy their honey, furs, felts, horses, and other cattle, and the money which they would receive for these articles they might then expend in salt at the storehouses of the crown. The imposition of certain duties would cause them to repair to the nearest Russian towns to purchase necessaries which they formerly obtained from Anapa, but which, since the destruction of that place, they have been obliged to take of the Russians.

3. It is absolutely necessary, as well on their account as for the sake of the provinces of Mingrelia and Imerethi, to secure the coast of the Black Sea from Anapa to Pothi.

4. On no account should reprisals be permitted against them, unless they have committed depredations on the Russian side, and then against that tribe only which has done the injury. Should the troops sent in pursuit of the guilty have to pass through other villages, these ought not to be molested, as is usually the case, but must be left in peace.

5. It is more particularly advisable to endeavour to keep on good terms with the elders of the Abasech, because they have a powerful influence on all their neighbours, and inhabit very strong situations. To this end nothing more is necessary than to make them a yearly present of a few cart-loads of salt;—a measure that has often been unseasonably adopted. Thus, for instance, the notorious Temirgoi Usden Ismael, who is not held in any consideration either by his own family or by the other tribes, has been gratuitously furnished with great quantities of salt, merely because he instigated his relatives to incursions into the Russian territory, took half of the booty for his share, and then carried it back to the Russian commanders, pretending that he had himself recovered it from the robbers.

6. The Russians should endeavour to keep one prince at least of every tribe in their interest, and to secure him by flattery and presents.

7. The Tschernomorzian Cossacks should be forbidden to sell salt to the Transckubanians; and the crown should dispose of it to such princes and elders only as have submitted to Russia, and conduct themselves peaceably.

8. Frontier-commissaries should be appointed at those places where these people come over into the Russian territory, to take cognizance of their complaints against Russian subjects, and in whose custody they should be required to leave their arms till their return home. From these officers they should obtain passes to the places whither they are bound.

CHAPTER XXIII.

BESCHTAU, OR THE FIVE MOUNTAINS—EXCURSION TO THE WARM BATH—CKARASS AND THE ENGLISH MISSION THERE—ITS PRESENT STATE—WORKS PRINTED AT THAT PLACE—SPRINGS OF MINERAL WATER IN THE CAUCASUS—KUMA AND PODKUMA—ANCIENT COMMUNICATION BETWEEN THE CASPIAN SEA AND THE SEA OF ASOW—THE RIVER KUMA THE UDON OF PTOLEMY.

As the arrangements for the prosecution of my journey detained me longer at Georgiewsk than I had at first expected, but yet were not of such a nature as to require my constant presence, I left them to the management of Bobrinzow the student, and set out on a little excursion to the neighbouring Five Mountains, called in Tartar Beschtau, but in Tscherkessian Osch'hi'-tch'u, which has the same signification. They form the northernmost range of the Caucasus, and are connected by means of a lime-stone ridge running due south, with the slate-hills at the foot of the lofty Elbrus, which last is 15 German miles from their base. Ptolemy, who seems to have had a very accurate knowledge of these parts, calls the Beschtau τὰ ἱππικὰ ὄρη, the Hippic or Horse Mountains; and indeed he could not have found a more appropriate appellation, if he was ignorant of the name given them by the Barbarians, for here are yet bred the best Tscherkessian and Abassian horses of the race of Tramkt, which have this mark ℳ burnt on the haunch, and are considered inferior to the Schaloch alone. On the mountains of Beschtau dwelt also the Pjätagorian Tscherkessians, so celebrated in the Russian history, and who submitted in 1553 to the Zar Iwan Wassiliewitsch. Hence this country is denominated by the older Russian writers Pätigoria; and in many modern maps, as for instance in Zannoni's fine map of the Turkish frontiers, it is distinguished by the still more extraordinary appellation of Beschtowi-daghi, which, if literally translated, would signify *The Five-Mountain Mountains.*

Early in the morning of the 11th of December, the weather being tolerably fine, I set out from Georgiewsk, with an escort of six Don Cossacks, in my carriage, for the Beschtau itself, which is only five (German) miles from that town: the country is level, and the road good. In two hours we reached Lissagorski Piket, a Cossack post, 17 wersts from Georgiewsk, close to the steep left bank of the Podkumka, which is properly called Gum by the Tscherkessians, who on the other hand distin-

guish the Kuma by the appellation of Gumysch, that is, the Old Gum or Kuma. The works of such pickets, and generally of all the *stanitzas* on the line, consist of a double barrier of interwoven branches, which sometimes has the intermediate space filled with earth, but is commonly pervious enough to the view. Over the principal entrance is erected a kind of hut, where a Cossack is constantly upon the watch, to descry enemies or other suspicious persons who may appear in the circumjacent country. Should he discover a small party, a sufficient force is detached to observe them; these men usually ride up to the strangers, and inquire their business or inspect their papers. A battle frequently ensues, in which the poor Cossacks, ill mounted and armed, generally have the worst of it. Should the enemy be too numerous, the avenues to the picket or post are closed, and they are kept off by a fire of musketry, in which the advantage is almost always on the side of the Cossacks. At Lissagorski a party of 40 Don Cossacks had been stationed three years under a Chorundshe, or cornet, with the rank of lieutenant: these men ought by right to be relieved every two years, but this cannot be done for want of troops. The whole Caucasian line in general is by no means adequately guarded against the great number of armed men whom the mountaineers are able to raise, especially as at present most of the troops formerly stationed upon it are employed in Georgia. It is fortunate for Russia that the inhabitants of the Caucasus, instead of being animated by one common interest, are perpetually at variance, otherwise it would be an easy task for them to annihilate in a short time the whole Russian force in this quarter.

The Podkumka here make s a considerable curve from south-east to north-west; on the right side of which, to the north-east of the Cossack picket, lies the chalk-hill of Baralyck, called by the Russians Lyssie Gora, that is, the *Fox-hill*.

Having changed horses at Lissagorski, we proceeded 18 wersts further to the warm spring situated on the south-west side of Mount Maschuka, called by the Tscherkessians Psi'chwaba, that is, *warm water*, where we arrived in about an hour and a half. This whole distance we had the Podkumka, the current of which is here very rapid, and likewise the hill of Baralyck just mentioned, on our left. Shortly before we reached the Maschuka, we quitted the bank of the river, and kept to the south-west, passing the brackish lake of Dshamgata, which lies about half a (German) mile from its foot, and is dry in summer. Dshamgata signifies, in Tscherkessian, *the dead Cow*. To the right, and nearly due north, we had the right arm of the river Gemuch, which falls into the left of the Kuma beyond Alexandrowska. Hitherto the country had been nearly quite level, only rising

gently towards the Beschtau. Here however the road became more stony, and went continually up and down hill. In this manner we proceeded round the west and south side of the Maschuka to the east side of the mountain, on which, at a considerable elevation, the warm spring is situated. At the distance of nearly a werst you perceive a strong smell of sulphuretted hydrogen gas, which grows stronger the nearer you approach.

The bathing-house, a wretched structure of wood, which had been rebuilt the preceding year, stands on a pretty steep eminence that is almost entirely composed of white calcareous shale, which the spring itself has for a long time deposited, and which proves its antiquity. The bath is hewn out of the same kind of stone, but so small as to be capable of holding no more than six persons at a time, and that very inconveniently. The water is conducted to it from the rock by means of open channels, and led away in the same manner. At the spring the sulphureous smell is uncommonly strong, and in the channels and the well is deposited a great quantity of sulphur, which, according to my examination, contains a considerable proportion of hydrogen, and in a fresh state forms genuine milk of sulphur. A new silver coin was turned in a few seconds to a very dark blue and the colour of a pigeon's neck.

Opposite to the bath is a ridge of tuff, which likewise owes its origin to depositions of calcareous earth, and runs from north to south: here are several traces of similar springs, the qualities of which however change almost every year. About a werst to the right of the principal spring is another, which is justly considered as its real source. A circumstance that afforded a strong demonstration of this fact is, that when in the year preceding my visit the spring of the bath was choked up, this on the contrary rose to the very top. The water of all these springs, which commonly has a temperature of more than 55° Reaumur, frequently deposits its earthy particles in the form of a white paste, which is used by the neighbouring Tscherkessians and Abasses for white-washing their houses and rooms. This sediment gradually hardens, and is converted into the porous tuff already mentioned, which has a radiated fracture, and is completely dissolved in nitric acid.

It is inconceivable how little attention is paid to the preservation and improvement of these so salutary mineral springs, which might be extremely beneficial if they were more known, and could be used with any degree of convenience. The bath in particular is much too small, and, as I have already observed, scarcely capacious enough for six persons, though the water issues in such abundance as to suffice for at least forty. It is moreover extremely unpleasant to be obliged to bathe indiscriminately with all comers: this might easily be remedied by the erection of

several baths. One spacious general bath might to be sure be provided for persons of the lowest class; but those of superior pretensions ought to have their conveniencies apart from the vulgar. It has hitherto been impossible for such visitors as use the bath to procure lodgings near it, because there are no buildings of any kind but the miserable huts constructed with branches (Balagan) with which the Cossacks there make shift. Strangers are therefore obliged to take up their quarters in the fortress of Konstantinogorsk, five wersts distant; which is another great inconvenience, and highly detrimental to the health of visitors, who may easily take cold by the way after coming heated out of the bath.

Having inspected every thing worthy of notice here, we left Mount Maschuka, which is overgrown with wood, and the base of which extends to a considerable distance in the adjacent plain. Our road now led in a south-west and afterwards in a north-west direction to the English missionary settlement, founded about five years since, at the foot of the highest of the Beschtau mountains, and named Ckarass, after an adjacent Abassian village, now burned down on account of the plague. Seventeen families originally resided here; but, owing to the unhealthiness of the climate, they are now reduced to eight; and these, two years since, were so unfortunate as to have several of their buildings burned by the neighbouring Nogays and Abasses. Their principal minister is Henry Brunton, a worthy old man, who formerly resided as a missionary in Africa among the nation of the Suni or Mandinga in Sierra Leone; and has published a grammar with a vocabulary, and likewise several religious books written in their language.

These missionaries are supported by the Scottish Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and His Imperial Majesty has graciously conferred on them extraordinary privileges, procured chiefly through the influence of the former secretary of state, Nikolai Nikolaewitsch Nowossilzow. The main objects of their establishment here are, the translation of the Bible into Tartar, and the conversion of the Caucasian nations, particularly the Tartars, to Christianity, according to the tenets of the church of England. As all these missionaries apply themselves with peculiar zeal to the study of the Tartar language, most of them have already made very great proficiency in it, especially as they have native Tartars for their attendants, and are thus kept in constant practice. Their superior, Henry Brunton, has chiefly directed his attention to the language used in writing, and has ably translated the four Evangelists, besides several smaller religious books. All these works are printed; and, according to the account of several Tartars whom I questioned on the subject, they are extremely well written.

The mission has a complete printing-office with a fine press, which, together with

the paper for three thousand copies of the New Testament, was sent hither from London. The Arabic-Tartar types rival in beauty those of the first-rate establishments in Europe. There are two founts; the larger was cast upon the same matrices as were used for the Oxford letters with which *White's Institutes of Timur* and several other works have been printed in England. The smaller corresponds with the types employed in printing the Arabic New Testament and Psalms, which appeared in London between the years 1720 and 1730, and after which the Arabic letters at Göttingen were cast.

Up to the time of my visit to Ckarass, the following works had issued from the press at that place:

1. A large Catechism in the Tartar language in question and answer, 92 pages small octavo.

2. A shorter Catechism of seven pages, small octavo, without title, beginning:—
بنم دوستم سلام سنڭ تياسكچه بولصن يرامز كشي دنيادة يوقدر بتون خر ستيان ملتي
ازدران بولس دم ديرسن اما نيچه اتدي

3. انجيل دينڭ سري *Endshil diniin seri*—that is, The Essence of the Religion of the Gospel. Printed at Ckarass 1806, fourteen pages, small octavo.

4. بر دوستڭ كلامي مسلمانه *Bir dostiin Gelamy Mosslemaneh*—The Word of a Friend to the Mussulmans—52 pages, small octavo. At the end are the words 'At Ckarass in the 1221st year of the Hhedshrah' (1806).

5. عيسينڭ انجيل متّينڭ يازوسي *Issainiin endshil Matteiniin jasnussi*—The Gospel of Jesus written by Matthew. When I was there only 24 pages were printed —in folio.

All the preceding are printed in a large character on Russian paper of a blueish cast.

6. مرقس يازدوغي عيسينڭ انجيل
لوقا يازدوغي عيسينڭ انجيل
يوحنا يازدوغي عيسينڭ انجيل

The Gospels according to Mark, Luke, and John, printed together in demy 8vo, with the smaller types. This work was sent after me in 1809, and was not then finished. I have 28 half sheets of it which are not paged—stout English paper.

As these missionaries enjoy the right of purchasing slaves, they already possess several Tscherkessians and Tartars, whom they have instructed in the precepts of Christianity and baptized, with the intention of restoring them, at some future time, to liberty. Excellent as the object and plan of this institution may be, it seems very doubtful whether it will ever accomplish the aim of the founders, since it is extremely

difficult to persuade Asiatics to embrace a religion unaccompanied by external ceremonies, and the moral part of all religions is almost invariably alike. The missionaries have moreover excited the animosity of the neighbouring Nogay Tartars, by the conversion of a person belonging to one of the principal families of that nation; and it is to be feared that on the very first opportunity they will fall a prey to their rapacious neighbours, against whom the six Cossacks stationed in the English colony would be an inadequate defence. Their houses are small and very ill built; but they have commenced the erection of a more spacious edifice, where they mean to reside together, and where, according to the plan, they will have abundance of room.

Since my return from the Caucasus I have been informed that many Herrnhuters from Ssarepta have removed to Ckarass and made common cause with the English missionaries, by which the colony has been considerably increased. Thus the whole institution is likely in time to lose its peculiar character, and the genuine Christian enthusiasm of its founders to degenerate into hypocrisy and avarice, which are well known to be the motives of all the actions of the Herrnhuters in their Russian settlements, and the mission will soon be transformed into a mere linen manufactory, which to be sure would be a profitable concern, for linen and shirts are current coin throughout all the Caucasus*.

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* From the inquiries which I have made I am enabled to assert that the author is totally misinformed in all that he has here advanced respecting the *Herrnhuters*, or, as they are more properly called, the *United Brethren*. They have never had any idea of forming an union with the establishment of Mr. Brunton, and still less have any of the members of their congregration at Sarepta removed to Ckarass.—Having thus disposed of the facts, it remains to say a few words concerning the author's extraordinary comments, in which he has most cruelly aspersed the character of a community, than which no Christian denomination is less swayed by selfish or interested motives. All who know any thing of their system of œconomy, or of their laborious and eminently successful but yet unobtrusive efforts for the propagation of the gospel in all parts of the world, will readily absolve them from the charges of avarice and hypocrisy; for though the order and neatness which distinguish their settlements may appear to some to be the effect of opulence, they are in fact the result of the strength of cordial co-operation and an active spirit of industry.

The author could not have received the information, which has called forth these animadversions, from Mr. Brunton, who will bear testimony to the friendly and disinterested assistance given to him and his brethren by the establishment at Sarepta, both in the beginning and progress of his mission. It belongs to those vague assertions, proceeding from the pens or the lips of enemies, by which this singular but meritorious class of Christians has often been most unjustly calumniated. To correct the erroneous idea which may be formed from his mention of the Russian *settlements* of the Herrnhuters, it may be proper to remark, that Sarepta is their *only* establishment in the Russian dominions.

We passed the night at Ckarass; and as the weather was perfectly clear and serene the next morning, and not a cloud to be seen on the whole Beschtau, I determined to ascend it. Our road from the mission led first to the north-west and then due west to the steep base of the middle and highest of the Beschtau mountains, called by the Tscherkessians Beschtau-ischgwa, which, like the whole elevation between the Kuma and Podkumka, is composed of original lime-stone that effervesces but little with acids. The foot of the mountain is covered with wood, which becomes more scanty and stunted towards the middle, and at length quite disappears. Soon afterwards you discover the primary formation of this peak, a sienitic porphyry, the mass of which seems to be compact feldspar. The intermixed particles are crystals of transparent feldspar, hornblend, and grains of quartz, and the colour of the mass of feldspar is light gray. In other places I have found it of a flesh colour and a straw yellow; and many specimens were variegated with delicate moss-like dendrites.

The middle of the mountain only can, with propriety, be called rocky; the surface of the upper part being unbroken and covered with mountain-plants, so that it forms a real Alp. The highest peak is but of small circumference, being at the utmost only five yards in diameter, which gives the whole mountain a very conical figure. Here formerly stood a pyramid of hewn stone, the ruins of which only are now to be seen. According to the report of the Abasses, it was shivered in pieces six years since by a flash of lightning.

The view from the Beschtau-ischgwa, which the fine weather allowed us to enjoy in full measure, is truly admirable. To the south the majestic Elbrus with its double peak, in the shape of a saddle, appeared very distinctly. The craggy snow-mountains, at the source of the Arredon and Tscherek, were much more clearly discernible here than in the plain of Georgiewsk; so that the Kasi-beg and Mount Chochi, in which rises the Terek, were alone concealed from the view by intervening snowy ranges, and we could see nothing of them but their summits. The snowy chain stretching

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That place is circumstantially described by the late Professor Pallas, in his Travels in the Southern Governments of the Empire.

Many years ago, in 1781, two persons were deputed from the congregation at Sarepta to examine whether any of the descendants of the ancient Bohemian Brethren dwelt in the Caucasus; as many of them were known to have fled into Asia in a time of persecution, and the name of Czechi, which was said to belong to a tribe of the inhabitants of those mountains, seemed to confirm the report. The interesting account of this deputation and its results is annexed, by way of Appendix, to this volume. TRANSLATOR.

away to the west of the Elbrus toward the Black Sea here appeared very low in comparison with the eastern, and seemed at no great distance to diminish still more considerably. The neighbouring ranges of the Beschtau made a very diminutive figure, and had but little snow upon them; while the mountains of Schepssikai, Oshhafa, Schachupsa, and Beschtau-didako, situated at the northern and north-western extremity of this division of the Caucasus, looked bare and insignificant. Beyond the Maschuka we discovered the three mountains denominated Temir-Kubeschek, or the Blacksmiths. As it was very cold at this season of the year on the summit of the Beschtau, and the wind was disagreeably keen, we soon descended and returned to Ckarass.

To render the journey to the mineral spring the more pleasant, I left my carriage at Ckarass and continued my route on horseback. In this excursion my principal object was to examine more minutely the hills and declivities along the left bank of the Podkumka, to ascertain whether the same kind of sienitic porphyry as constitutes the chief mass of the Beschtau makes its appearance there: but I found only the original lime-stone formation, with some detached hills of tuff-stone. Our road from Ckarass led past the foot of the Maschuka, straight to the Podkumka, over a tolerably level country, and then through the low valley in which it flows to the little fortress of Konstantinogorsk, on the left of that river; where we reposed for the night. This place, together with the fort of Kumskoi, or Kljutschewoi, situated 15 wersts to the south-east, on the southern foot of the range of the Temir-Kubeschek, may be considered as the outworks of Georgiewsk on this side, and is therefore pretty strongly garrisoned.

The next morning we set out very early for the mineral spring, which is but 32 wersts distant at furthest. The road at first runs along the left of the Podkumka through a level tract cultivated by the Tscherkessians and Abasses, over the rivulets Psipscha (Black Water) and Gurmik, to the Essenzuk or Little Essen, which is a more considerable stream, and, like the former, falls into the left of the Podkumka. Hence the country becomes more mountainous and rocky. We did not pursue the usual road which leads over the stony ridge bordering the river at the distance of a few wersts, but kept close to its bank. About twenty wersts from Konstantinogorsk we forded the Podkumka, which here runs with a rapid current over fragments of lime-stone, but is not very deep. From this place it is reckoned only twelve wersts to the mineral spring near the rivulet Narzana, that is, Nectar; and we had proceeded about half way, when all at once a body of forty or fifty armed Tscherkessians appeared at the distance of a few hundred paces and fired at

us. As my company, including the Cossack given me for an escort, amounted to no more than ten, and we felt no inclination to try our fortune against four times our number of well armed Tscherkessians and Abasses, we thought it most prudent to measure back our steps; which we did unmolested by the enemy, who continued stationary and watched our retreat. I proposed to the Cossack Chorundshe, who accompanied me, to take another and rather more circuitous road to the spring, along the Podkumka to the influx of the Narzana, and then up the latter river; but as he showed no disposition for the experiment, and considered it too dangerous, I was necessitated to relinquish my intention of visiting the spring, and of returning to Konstantinogorsk; where intelligence was received the next morning, that the enemy, whom we had fallen in with, had actually made an attempt to take and destroy the spring; which, however, had miscarried.

Besides this celebrated and much frequented mineral spring in the vicinity of Konstantinogorsk, there are many of the same nature in the northern and southern lime-stone and slate-mountains, which are partly used by the inhabitants in certain diseases, or for their cattle, and partly flow unheeded, mingling their waters with those of other natural springs. At the source of the Kuma and Podkumka lies the mountain of Mara, which is tolerably high: here, about four years since, one of the Ckaratschai discovered in hunting a still more copious spring of mineral water than that above mentioned. He had been chasing a deer, which he killed, broiled some portion of his booty, and then looked about for some fresh water to drink. In this search he found a spring issuing in a strong stream, the acid water of which intoxicated and threw him into a profound sleep. On waking he felt extremely comfortable, and, having filled his skin with the water, was riding homeward with the remains of the deer, when he was detained by two Abassian usdens, to whom he communicated his discovery. They bound him by an oath to keep the matter secret, and not to mention it to any individual, lest it should come to the ears of the Russians, who would seize the spot, and thus reduce their possessions within still narrower limits. Since that time the Abasses residing in the neighbourhood make use of this water, which even at a great distance from the source loses but little of its intoxicating quality.

The Kuma, called by the Tscherkessians Gumysch, that is, the Old Gum, rises, as I have just observed, in Mount Mara, and about thirty wersts from its source receives some considerable brooks which issue from the same mountain. Its course is nearly from south to north till it enters the Russian territory, where it receives the small river Tanlyck on its left. A little to the west of the sources of the latter

are two salt-water lakes, which are included within the Russian boundary line. Opposite to the redoubt of Peschtschanoi Brod, that is, the Sandy Ford, the Andar, which comes from the lime-stone mountains, empties itself into the right of the Kuma, and about a (German) mile lower down the rivulet Kerkel falls into the same side. Near Prokoriwschei, at the foot of the Otschek Kiu, it receives the Kumean Barssukly, as it is termed, into its left. At Obilnoi the Podkumka, which is properly called Gum or Gumeh by the Tscherkessians, discharges its waters into the right of the Kuma. This river, which is little inferior to the Kuma itself, takes its rise from two brooks at the foot of the mountains of Ketschergan and Baramut, which lie between the sources of the Malka and the Stone Bridge over the Ckuban, and on which the Tscherkessians keep their horned cattle and horses for six weeks during the intense heat of July and August, because there they are not annoyed by flies, which in summer torment those animals in the steppe. The most considerable branches of the Podkumka are on the right side; first, in the lofty lime-stone range, the river Keberdak, which receives the rivulet Eschkalon; lower down the Narzana; and then the Stoka, shortly before its junction with the Kuma. Below the Podkumka the Kuma receives into its right the Saluka, a small stream which comes from the steppe, and is the last that runs into it on this side. In its whole course through the steppe the brooks Ckaramickle, Buywola, and Ssuchaja Buywola, or the Dry Buywola, fall into it on the left. Below Morgon Madshar and the neighbouring village of Wolodimirowka the current of the Kuma begins to slacken, and forms several small connected lakes, that mark the three branches by which it formerly emptied itself into the Caspian Sea, and which are denominated Kumskoi Kultuk. The northernmost of these branches is called by the Calmucks and Tartars Küdück. It forms several connected sheets of water, dries up in summer without reaching the Caspian Sea, and is lost in small lakes among the sand-hills. Not far from it is the second channel of the Kuma, termed by the Russians the First Podkumok or Malaja Kuma, that is, the Little Kuma, but merely Kuma by the Tartars and Calmucks. This likewise forms small lakes communicating with one another and marshes covered with reeds, and disappears in the sands long before it has reached the sea. The third and southernmost arm is the Second Podkumok or Sserednaja Kuma (the Middle Kuma) of the Russians. This does not reach the sea any more than the others; so that the whole river Kuma, the principal channel of which is continued in a series of lakes and pools beyond the third branch, and forms several small ponds not far from the shore of the sea, is absorbed without any actual outlet in the heaps of sand blown together

by the wind. It is only when the waves of the sea, raised by tempestuous winds, are driven into the bay, which is called by the Russians Kumskoi Kultuk, and by the Tartars and Calmucks Kosükai, and which lies in a right line with the blind outlets of the Kuma, that the water overflows into the lakes of that river, and gives it the appearance of a regular discharge into the Caspian*.

Pallas, who has bestowed particular attention upon the steppe between the Caspian and Black Sea, conjectures, with great plausibility, that these two seas were formerly connected by means of the marshes of the Ulagan Terni, Alabuga, and Bielo-osero, which are generally inundated by the Caspian when its waters are raised by storms, and by the plain bordered with hills through which the Manytsch pursues its sluggish course. The sand-hills which now separate these marshes from those of the Manytsch have evidently been formed by the sands drifted inland by the violence of the winds, or perhaps by those accumulated and left behind in the Streight, and occupy but an inconsiderable space between the two hollows. These sands also have blocked up the mouth of the Kuma notwithstanding the abundance of its waters, which formerly had a free exit by the Kumean bay into the Caspian Sea.

The Kuma is undoubtedly the Udon of Ptolemy, which, according to his account, rises in the Keraunian mountains and falls into the Hyrcanian Sea, between the Alonta and the Rha (Wolga). The name Udon seems to be of Ossetian (Sarmatian) origin, for in that language Don signifies river or water.

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* Pallas *Reise durch die südl. Statth. Russl.* I. 273.

CHAPTER XXIV.

TARTAR TRIBES IN THE SLATE AND LIME-STONE MOUNTAINS OF THE CAUCASUS, DENOMINATED BY THE GEORGIANS BASSIANI—THEY ARE SAID TO HAVE FORMERLY DWELT IN THE STEPPE OF THE KUMA AND AT MADJAR; AND ARE NOW UNDER THE AUTHORITY OF THE KABARDIANS—THE LANGUAGE OF ALL THE TRIBES IS ALIKE, AND CORRESPONDS WITH THE NOGAY-TARTAR—THE CKARATSCHAI, AT THE SOURCE OF THE CKUBAN—THEY ARE NOW MOHAMMEDANS—FRANKISH BURIAL-PLACE AMONG THEM—PRINCES, NOBLES, AND VASSALS—SHAPE AND FEATURES OF THE CKARATSCHAI—THEY ARE NOT INTERMIXED WITH MONGOLS—THEIR FEMALES AND MARRIAGES—NATURAL CHILDREN—EDUCATION, HABITS, AND MANNERS—DRESS AND WEAPONS—OATHS AND SORCERY—WOOD-GOBLINS—DISPOSITION—OCCUPATIONS, PRODUCTIONS, AND TRAFFIC WITH THEIR NEIGHBOURS—ROAD OVER THE SNOWY MOUNTAINS TO IMERETHI, PROBABLY THE *PORTA CUMANA* OF PLINY—FABLES CONCERNING THE ABUNDANCE OF METALS IN THESE PARTS—FAMILIES AMONG THE CKARATSCHAI—DISTRICTS OF BAKSAN—TSCHEGEM AND BALKAR—THE SSUANES TO THE NORTH OF THE CAUCASUS IN THE VILLAGE OF CHULAM.

Among the most remarkable of the inhabitants of the Caucasus are the Tartar tribes in the slate and lime-stone ranges near the sources of the rivers Ckuban, Baksan, Tschegem, Naltschik, Tscherek, and Argudan, who are called by the Tscherkessians Tatar Kusch'ha, but by the Georgians Bassiani. Güldenstädt erroneously asserts that these people are likewise denominated Dshiki by the latter. This was the appellation of the Tscherkessians residing on the sea-coast, who are called in Georgian Dshiki, and their settlements Dshikethi, and who extended from Bitschiunta, the Pytius of the ancients, and the Pezonda of the Italian maps of the middle ages, along the shore of the Black Sea, to the mouth of the Ckuban. They are the Zychians of the ancients and of the Byzantines; for, as George Interiano expressly says, Zychi is the Greek name of the Tscherkessians.

The name of Bassiani, in which the Ckaratschai are not comprehended, is derived from the principal family among them, who, according to a Georgian geo-

graphy*, are of Ossetian origin. Their elders report that they were long ago settled in the steppe of the Kuma as far as the Don, but at what particular time they are unable to state. Their capital, which is said to have been very magnificent, was named Ckirck Madshar, which in their language signifies the *forty stone buildings*, or the *forty four-wheeled waggons*, according to the two-fold interpretation that may be given to Madshar. They assert that the ruins of Madshar, which yet subsist, are the remains of this city. Here reigned several of their princes, who, at the commencement of the second century of the Hedshira, lived at constant enmity with their neighbours, and were at length expelled by them; on which they retired to the Great Kabardah, whence they were, in the sequel, driven by the Tscherkessians, and, being divided into detached bodies, were necessitated to fix their habitations on the highest mountains at the sources of the Ckuban, Baksan, and Tschegem†. One portion of them however still continued on the Malka, and did not remove till a later period to the source of the Tscherek, whence it yet retains the name of Malkar or Balkar. In these new settlements they long lived unmolested, till the Georgian queen Thamar subdued the neighbouring Ossetes and other Caucasian tribes, and, among the rest, the Bassianes. She introduced among all of them the Christian religion, of which not only some ancient churches yet remain in the mountains, but other traces are to be found among these Tartars, who, in spring, observe a fast of seven weeks, and at the end of summer another of nine weeks, during which they abstain from animal food, butter, and milk.

After the conquest of Georgia by the Mongols, the Bassianes, as it appears, were again free; but in later times fell under the dominion of the Kabardians, to whom they are yet subject. They are chiefly under the authority of the two Kabardian princely houses of Kurgock and Kaituck, who exact a sheep every year by way of tribute from each family. This tribute is paid by the Bassianes when they repair to the Kabardah to barter their wool, coarse cloth, rye, felts, foxes' and martens' skins, sulphur, and gunpowder of their own manufacture, for salt, pulse, dried fish, cottons, linens, Turkey leather, and other necessaries. In winter they drive their

* *Aghtzera atzindelisa Kharthlisa Sazghuritha mihith Mdzarith da adgilitha da mas schina schemebulitha.*—"Description of the present Kharthli, its boundaries, mountains, rivers, and places, and of the buildings in them."—This interesting work, part of which I have had translated, was written about the middle of the last century.—We are told in it that "many Ossi are of illustrious families, and the Ssidamonian are composed of the following: Schtschachilitse, Thagauri, Khurthauli, Badelitse, Tscherkesitse, and Bassiani."

† According to other accounts, this happened not more than 450 years ago.

cattle into the Kabardah to pasture, and are in consequence dependent on the Tscherkessians also. When, therefore, the harvest is very productive, and the pasturage abundant in their own country, they prefer purchasing their salt in Imerethi and Georgia, or boil as much as they require for their consumption from the salt springs in the mountains; in which case they keep their cattle at home in winter, and neither visit the Kabardians, nor suffer the latter to come to them; which furnishes occasion for frequent disputes and wars*.

The common people have, strictly speaking, no established religion, but worship God, whom they call Tägri and not Allah, as the giver of all good, and the prophet Elijah (*Nebi Ilia*), who, according to them, frequently appears on the summits of the highest mountains, and to whom they offer sacrifices of lambs, milk, butter, cheese, and beer (ssra), accompanied with singing and dancing. They likewise eat pork, and have sacred springs, in the neighbourhood of which they must not fell any trees. Respecting their method of predicting the success of any enterprise, or other future events, I could learn nothing more than that they, like several other Tartar tribes, throw the blade-bones of sheep into the fire, and prophesy from its motions and the cracks which take place in it. Their chiefs have however been compelled by the Tscherkessians to embrace the Mohammedan faith; but, with the exception of the Ckaratschai, they have neither Messdsheds nor Mullas.

The language of these people very nearly resembles the Nogay Tartar, as must appear from the subjoined Lord's Prayer in Ckaratschai, and the vocabulary which will be introduced in the second volume:

Baba mis olan koklerdü
Father our being heaven in

Olsun chass aden.
Be hallowed name thy.

Kelsun schachlegen.
Come kingdom thy.

Olsun aradeten erdü ki oldygi kokdü.
Be will thy earth on as it is heaven in.

Bugun wir bisü hergüngi etmekmis.
This day give us daily bread our.

* It should be observed, that all that is said above applies to the Bassianes, with the exception of the Ckaratschai; for the latter, as we shall presently see, are much more completely under the power of the Kabardians, and have already universally embraced Islamism.

Wa bisü bageschla afuilü borüdschlar misü
And us grant forgiveness of debts our
Nemüku bis borüdschlar-misü afuilires
So as we debtors our forgive.
Wa bisi ketumnü imtechson
And us not lead temptation into
Amma boschat scherirdem
But deliver evil from
Sira ssültanlek ssennünkider, wa ássim, wa istechar, daïm
Thy kingdom thine is and power and glory for ever.

For the sake of comparison I shall here insert the Lord's Prayer in Nogay:

كوكلرده اولان اتامز
انك قدوس اولسون
مملكتك يتشسون
مرادك يرده اولسون كوكده اولدوغي كبي
هركونكي اتمكمزي بوكون بزه ويرر
و بوجلرمزي بزه بغشله بز دخي بورجلولرمزه بغشلد و غمزكبي
و بزي صنامغه كتورمه
اما يرامزدن بزي قورتلر
زيرا مملكتى و قدرت و بيوكلق سككيدر دايما امين

These Tartars, who are called by the Tscherkessians Tatar Kusch'ha, that is, Tartar Mountaineers, are denominated by the Ossetes Assi, and comprehend several tribes who live detached from one another near their respective rivers. As I obtained my information respecting them from Ssachar Iwanowitsch Tschergilow, the Armenian, of Mosdok, who resided several years among the Ckaratschai, the particulars concerning the manners and customs of that tribe are much more circumstantial; but what is said of them applies with few exceptions to all the others.

I. The Ckaratschai, (that is, *Black Rivulet*,) not Karautzi, are called by the Tscherkessians Karschaga Kusch'ha, but by the Mingrelians and Imerethians Karatschioli. By the Tartars they are denominated Ckara-Tscherkess, or *Black* Tscherkessians, because they are subject to that people. Thus also they were

named by the Georgians, in the middle ages, Qara Dshiki, and their country Qaradshachethi, for Dshiki and Zychi are synonymous, and signify Tscherkessians *.

They assert that they removed from Madshar to the district which they at present inhabit before the Tscherkessians came to the Kabardah, and derive their name of Ckaratschai from the chieftain under whose conduct they settled on the Ckuban. Pallas† assigns to them a considerable extension to the west; for he represents them as bordering upon the Beschilbai on the Urup. The truth is, that they dwell dispersed at the north foot of the Elbrus, which is called by them Mingi-taw, on the rivers Chursuk, Ckuban, and Teberde. To the east they are separated by the mountains of Kandshal, Tshalpak, and Urdi; and to the north by the mountains of Auarsetsch, Ketschergan, Baramut, and Mara, from the Tscherkessians and Abasses. To the west they have the Abassian tribes of Tramkt, Lo'u, and Klitsch. Their two principal villages are Ckaratschai, at the influx of the Chursuk into the right of the Ckuban, which contains about 250 houses, and another of about 50 houses, situated to the west of the Upper Ckuban, on the little river Teberde. The latter is of recent date, having been founded by refugees from Ckaratschai, who quitted the principal village for fear of the incursions of the Kabardians. The road to them, which is extremely incommodious, and cannot be travelled with carriages, runs along the Ckuban and Bakssan.

From the village of Ckaratschai, at the conflux of the Chursuk and the Ckuban, it is 17 wersts to the stone bridge over the latter river, which is called by the Tscherkessians Miwwet'le misch, but by the Tartars Taschkopur. The road thither leads along the right bank of the Ckuban, and is not passable for carriages. To go from Ckaratschai to the Great Kabardah, you first proceed up the brook Chursuk to its source, and then cross the range of the Tschalpak in such a direction that you leave Mount Kandshal‡ on the right. The distance is 60 or 70 wersts, and the road very bad. To the foot of the Mingitau or Elbrus it is only 15 wersts, which distance may be performed in half a day; but its summit is inaccessible.

* Reineggs (i. 271.) says: "The savage horde of the tribe of Karaghay, composed of 190 families, is seated on the Little Kuban, next to the tribes of the Kilitsch and Kesch, consisting of 300 families." In this passage he designates the Upper Ckuban by the wholly unknown name of the Little Ckuban. On the *Podrobnaja Karta* they are distinguished by the appellation of Karatschjägi.

† *Südl. Statthaltersch.* i. 407.

‡ This mountain has its name from its pointed form, for Chandshar signifies in Tartar a dagger. On the Caucasus it is commonly pronounced Kandshal, and by the Russians Kinshal.

All the Ckaratschai were formerly heathen like the Balkar and Tschegem; but at present no other religion prevails among them than the Mohhammedan, and they now abhor swine's flesh, of which they used to be very fond. About thirty years since (1782) they were converted to Islamism by the Kabardian priest Isaak Effendi, who was in the pay of the Porte. The name of their present Effendi is Isaak also, that of their Mulla is Othman, and the person who summons them to prayer from the tower of the Messdshed is called Guotschai.

To Christianity they are utter strangers, and keep no other fasts than those prescribed in the Ckuran. Without the village of Ckaratschai, however, at a place which is set apart for the interment of strangers, and is called Getmischbasch *, there are many graves and sepulchral stones, which they attribute to Frengi or Catholics.

The princes of the Ckaratschai are styled By, and of these the three chief families are the Ckrym-Schochali, Urusbi, and Mudari. The people nevertheless pay no kind of tribute either to them, the usdens, or the gentry; but the princes possess the right of taking for their own use any man's horses, but return them in a short time to the owner. To the Kabardian princes, on the other hand, whom they term Bek, they are obliged to pay certain imposts. All the Ckaratschai, whether princes, nobles, or peasants, are under the authority of the Beks, and consider them as their only superiors. These commonly receive five sheep from each house; besides which the wealthy give them a fine horse, an ox, felt-mantles (jamatschch), furs, copper kettles, and other articles.

Though the Ckaratschai are not bound to pay any particular honours to their native princes, yet the usdens must attend the By in his excursions on horseback. If he makes a purchase, he commonly gives away part of it in presents to the persons of his retinue, who, in return, entertain him every where in the best manner, and supply him with provisions suitable to his rank.

As the friendship of the Kabardian princes is estimated very highly by them, each family strives to obtain the favour of one of the most powerful, that it may secure a protector and mediator in unforeseen misfortunes or attacks. No one will then venture to do any member of it an injury either public or private; nay, it frequently happens that mean families acquire power and consequence solely through their friendship with Kabardian princes. Hence neither the Abasses nor the Nogays venture to commit depredations on the Ckaratschai, lest they should be chastised by the Kabardians; on the contrary, they are always solicitous to keep on the best terms with them.

* Getmischbasch signifies the mouth of the (brook) Getmitsch.

The Ckaratschai, in their persons, are some of the handsomest of the inhabitants of the Caucasus, and bear a much stronger resemblance to the Georgians than to the roving Tartars in the steppe. They are well shaped, and have remarkably delicate features, which are embellished by large black eyes and a fair complexion*. Among them you meet with none of the broad, flat faces, and hollow oblique eyes, which are so common among the Nogays, and would prove an intermixture with Mongol tribes.

In general they take only one wife; but some have two or three, with whom they live very happily, and, contrary to the practice of the other mountaineers, treat them with humanity and affection; so that here, as among the Europeans, the wife is the companion, and not the menial servant, of the husband. The wives of the princes have separate habitations, and dare not show themselves to any stranger, and still less converse with him. The husband is not allowed to visit his wife in the day-time, but only at night. The same Tscherkessian custom prevails also among the wealthy usdens or nobles; but the common man lives together with his wives, and permits strangers to see and converse with them. The daughters likewise go but little abroad; they are occupied in the manufacture of gold and silver thread, and in making clothes for their fathers and brothers. Among them, as among the other Tartars, the parents, on the marriage of a daughter, receive a kalim, which is here termed the *price of blood*. The bridegroom, if he is wealthy, sends a complete dress to the bride, who must put it on when she is conducted to him, which is always done in the night. On the wedding-day the bridegroom assembles at his house all his friends of the male sex, and gives them an entertainment, at which they eat and drink heartily. A similar treat is given in the house of the bride, but only her female acquaintance are invited to it. Towards evening the young men repair to the bride's, to conduct her with her whole train to the habitation of her future husband. The festivities last three days; the company dance, feast, and make merry; the youths have an opportunity of forming an acquaintance with the girls of the village, and thus commences many a passion which terminates in a new marriage.

* Father Arch. Lamberti, who visited Mingrelia about the middle of the seventeenth century, has these remarks concerning the Ckaratschai: "The Caratscholi also are seated to the north of the Caucasus: they are called by some Caraquirquez, that is, Black Circassians. Their complexions are very fair; so that this name was probably given them only because the atmosphere of their country is always gloomy, and overcast with clouds: they speak Turkish, but so fast that it is difficult to understand them. I have sometimes been puzzled to conceive how they could have preserved the Turkish language in its purity amidst so many different nations."

At the wedding a particular dance is performed by lads and lasses intermixed in a circle.

When a young man designs to marry, he does not communicate his intention to his parents, lest they should disapprove his choice and prevent the match. In general, however, the parents themselves seek out for him a wife suitable to his rank and fortune. In this case the ceremony of betrothing very soon takes place; but the marriage is deferred, so that the parties have frequently to wait from four to six months, nay sometimes even a whole year. Till the consummation of the nuptials the bridegroom is not suffered upon any account to see or speak to the bride, neither is she allowed to see him. It is also considered indecorous for the bridegroom to be seated in the presence of the bride's parents; even if he has been sitting before their entrance he rises; neither must he enter into conversation with them until he is actually married to their daughter.

When a man has debauched a married or unmarried female, and the affair becomes public in the village, all the inhabitants meet in the Messdshed, whither the seducer also is conducted. He is tried by the elders, who commonly pronounce upon him a sentence of banishment from the country, accompanied with the most rigid injunction never to return to Ckaratschai or its vicinity if he has any regard for his life. The father turns his dishonoured daughter, and the husband the adultress, out of his house, and never can either be prevailed upon to receive her again. Sometimes the business terminates in the death of the offender, and then the disgraced family quit the country to conceal their shame from their former fellow-citizens. Such cases, however, but rarely occur.

When a prince or nobleman has no issue by his legitimate wife, but has children by a slave, these are called Thuma or Tschankua. If they are males, they are delivered immediately after their birth to some poor person, who brings them up with care till the father dies, and then the Thuma succeed him in all his prerogatives and possessions, as though they were his legitimate offspring. But when there are children also by the legitimate wife, and these will neither acknowledge the bastard as their brother, nor suffer him to live with them, nor assign him a share of the patrimony, they put him to death, as no person will avenge his blood, because he is related to nobody. It nevertheless frequently happens that the legitimate children, out of respect for the blood of their father, not only spare the bastard, but acknowledge him as a brother, and share with him the paternal possessions. The latter generally takes his poor foster-father into his house, and supports him from a motive of gratitude as long as he lives.

Many of the Ckaratschai commit the education of their sons to their Mulla, who instructs them in reading and writing. When they have acquired a proficiency in these branches they are termed Tochta, and are appointed to chant the Ckuran in the Messdshed at divine worship. After they have performed this office for some time they become eligible themselves for the post of Mulla, if they should embrace no other profession.

The Ckaratschai are not so much addicted to plunder as their neighbours the Tscherkessians and Abasses; nay, the words *theft* and *roguery* are seldom heard among them. They are extremely industrious, and chiefly subsist by agriculture; for they are too weak to pursue, like their masters and protectors the Kabardians, the trade of arms, as the whole tribe consists of very few more than 250 families.

The soil is fertile, and produces abundance of wheat (*budai*), barley (*arpá*), millet (*tari*), and grass for pasturage; yet this spot is but eight wersts in breadth, the whole circumjacent country being covered with woods, in which wild pear-trees (*körtmö*) are frequently met with. Here grow likewise great quantities of cornel-berries, which are preserved with honey, and disposed of to the Kabardians and the Turks. The woods moreover abound with game, as bears, wolves, wild goats of two species, hares, wild cats, the skins of which are highly valued, and martens. They sell to foreign traders the skins of bears, hares, foxes, and martens; but those of the wild goats they keep for themselves, and use them for carpets, which they lay upon the spot where they kneel during prayer. They likewise make boot-legs and Tartar boots of them, and cut them into small strips to sew with. They keep many sheep, asses, mules (*ckadra*), and horses, which last, though small, are strong and spirited, and admirably adapted for travelling in the mountains. Their butter is excellent, and with the milk they make very good cheese (*bischlik*). A very common dish with them is *kefir*; so also is boiled mutton (*schisslick*), or meat roasted upon small sticks, or cakes filled with minced meat and other things. Their beer (*ssra*) is, like that of the Ossetes, the best in the Caucasus, and resembles English porter. They distil brandy from barley and wheat, and their bread they commonly bake in the ashes. They are very fond of tobacco, which they cultivate themselves; and there are several species of it, all of which are in great request. They sell it to the Nogays, Ssuanes, and Jews; these last export it to the Kabardah and to Russia.

When their horses are grown old and unserviceable, they cut off their tails and manes, and turn them out to feed in the woods, where they become extremely fat. When they kill them they keep the flesh dried till winter, and also cut it into small pieces, with which, when cleared of the sinews, they fill the intestines. This kind of

sausage they set before their friends as a dainty. The stomach, liver, and other offal are likewise used in housekeeping. Kümiss, or milk-brandy, is never made by them.

The men wear, like the Tscherkessians, woollen garments resembling a close surtout, which are called Tschimek. Their cloth, which is held in high estimation throughout the whole of the Caucasus, is manufactured by themselves. The women also dress in cloth and furs when they go abroad; but in the height of summer they wear only a light under-garment of white cotton. The younger females cover the head with a cap of silver lawn, and plait their hair, which is tied after the Tscherkessian manner with a white ribband, and falls down their backs. The women of more advanced age wear a white handkerchief over the head.

Their houses, which they keep very clean, are built of fir; they have no fireplaces, and small windows. Their principal household utensils consist of a variety of copper kettles, which are hung up by means of a hook over the fire, and come by way of Ssochum-ckala'h from Anadolia. The bedsteads are of wood, raised but very little from the floor, and covered with carpets and pillows.

Their arms at present are guns, pistols, sabres, and daggers; formerly they used shields (*Ckalchan*) also, and two different kinds of hunting-spears, called Ssungeh and Mudshurá. They have no wheeled carriages, owing to the mountainous nature of the country, but transport every thing upon pack-horses.

When one man has killed another, the relatives of the latter strive by all means to revenge his blood by the death of the murderer; and thus, according to their notions, to give rest to his and their own souls. Nevertheless it frequently happens that a prince endeavours to reconcile the parties, whom he invites to his house, with all their relations; an ox or a sheep is slaughtered and eaten, copious potations of beer succeed, and before they part a reconciliation is generally effected. If the person whose duty it is to avenge the death of his kinsman be poor, or deficient in spirit, or if the deceased have no relatives capable of imbruing their hands in the blood of the murderer, the reconciliation may also be brought about by means of presents to the value, very often, of more than 600 (silver) rubles. These are called Chanbahasé by the Ckaratschai. Should the murder have been unintentional, still it is considered as a crime; but a reconciliation is much more easy, and seldom fails to be effected.

The princes of the Ckaratschai marry daughters of Kabardian usdens, and these usdens take for their wives the daughters of those princes. The *kalim*, or price paid for a wife in arms and cattle, exceeds in value 1000 (silver) rubles.

The manner in which they bring up their children is very strict and commendable. When a son is disobedient to his parents, and fails to amend his conduct after repeated admonitions, he is placed in sight of the whole village at the door of the Messdshed, and seriously exhorted to alter his behaviour. Should this have no effect, his parents disown and turn him out of doors, having previously furnished him with such things as are most necessary, and never must he afterwards show his face in his father's house. If his conduct should still be too scandalous, he is even expelled from the village, and forbidden to return as long as he lives.

Treachery is a crime so uncommon as scarcely to be known to them even by name; and should any native be guilty of it, or a stranger come among them as a spy, all the people fly to arms to apprehend him, and he infallibly pays the forfeit of his life for the offence. In general they do not rest till they have literally cut him in pieces.

When the inhabitants of Ckaratschai have any important business to discuss and decide upon, the elders assemble in the Messdshed. In concluding agreements both parties must swear to observe them, and whoever breaks his oath forfeits five or ten sheep to the village. Should he again violate the covenant, he must, after paying the penalty, bind himself by a new oath to the faithful performance of the engagement, and no instance is known of a man having broken this double oath. In taking oaths the following ceremonies are observed: the parties meet in the ante-hall of the Messdshed, and the mulla holds up the Ckuran. The person taking the oath lays his hand upon the book, and calls God to witness the truth of his asseveration; on which the ceremony concludes, and the oath is considered inviolable.

When any one dies the women set up a terrible howl, beating their breasts, and tearing their hair; but the men who attend the funeral strike themselves violently with their horse-whips on the forehead, and mangle the lobes of their ears with knives. On their return, however, they drown their grief in copious libations of beer.

The Ckaratschai have recourse to divination, more especially before they mount their horses to undertake a journey or go a-hunting. They lay forty-one small pebbles, peas, beans, or barley-corns, in several heaps, according to certain rules, and from their number and relative situations they predict the success or failure of an enterprise. If the omens prove propitious, they hasten to put their design in execution; but if unlucky, nothing can induce them to stir a step,—so thoroughly are they convinced of the infallibility of the prediction. It must be confessed, however, that many of them have no faith in these absurdities.

For the rest, these people, like all mountaineers, are very superstitious, and relate

numberless stories of dæmons and goblins that are said to haunt the mountains; of which the following may serve for a specimen:—A malignant spirit in female shape, and having very long hair, which they call in their language Ssalmasti, is reported to reside in a certain wood. About twenty-five years ago one of the inhabitants of the village caught this goblin, carried it home with him, and cut off its hair, which he carefully hid, and by which means he rendered the spirit subservient to him. One day he ordered it to make some *bosa*; on which it set the pot on the fire, boiled the pease, and when the soup was ready the master and mistress went out, leaving two little children only in the house. These soon begged the spirit to give them something to eat, which it promised to do, if they would tell where its hair was concealed. No sooner had they shown the place where it lay, than the dæmon snatched up the hair, and was thus released from subjection to its master. Upon this it threw the two children into the pot full of boiling *bosa*, and fled back to the wood, where it is still said to reside.

They deem it a great crime not to observe the fasts prescribed in the Ckuran, and to omit their daily prayers. Like all the Mohhamınedans of the Caucasus, they are Sunnites, and cherish an inveterate hatred against the followers of A'li. The flesh of the wild and tame swine, of which they were formerly very fond, they now hold in the utmost abhorrence, and they consider a person who only touches one of those animals as impure.

In temper they are extremely warm, and the smallest trifle that can be construed by them into an affront instantly inflames their resentment against the offender; but they are soon pacified again, and easily convinced of their error. Upon the whole, it may be justly asserted that they are the most polished tribe in the Caucasus, and surpass all their neighbours in mildness of manners. To their superiors, the Kabardian princes, they pay the utmost respect and obedience, executing all their commands with cheerfulness and punctuality. They assist their poorer brethren with gifts, and in a variety of ways; the rich lend them their oxen, and find them employment, for which they pay them well, so that they are enabled to live in a comfortable manner.

The Ckaratschai manufacture themselves none of those articles which require great pains and patience, and procure even their guns, sabres and daggers from the neighbouring Tscherkessians, from Ssochum-ckala'h, and from the Abasses. Their territory yields neither salt nor iron. These necessaries, together with lead and other metals, they purchase of the Tscherkessians and the Nogays. For salting their winter provisions they use the water of a spring not far from Chursuk, with which also they cook their victuals.

They have scarcely any other kinds of beverage than beer and *bosa*. From wheat and barley, indeed, they distil a brandy which is very strong and intoxicating; but they seldom drink it, as it is forbidden in the Ckuran. They make a stock of beer and bosa for winter. They have no honey, because the climate is too cold for bees in winter, and they know nothing of the management of hives. What honey they want they obtain from the Kabardians, but use it only for preserving cornel-berries and other fruit.

Their mountains produce both sulphur and saltpetre; and to procure the latter they are not obliged, like the Tscherkessians, to sprinkle the ground of their sheep-folds and pens with ley. Their gunpowder is fine and remarkably strong.

The produce of their manufactures, as cloth (*schal*), felts (*küss*) for carpeting, furs, hoods (*baschlik*), &c. they sell partly to the Imerethians and partly export to Ssochum-ckala'h, a Turkish fortress on the Black Sea, which contains great quantities of merchandize, and carries on a considerable trade with the western Caucasus. They receive in return cottons, silks, tobacco-pipes, for which there is a great demand, Turkish tobacco, needles, thimbles, and otter-skins. Their traffic with the Kabardians, from whom they procure salt and other Russian produce, is much less extensive; indeed they can supply themselves much better with all they want through the channel of the Turks, and at a much cheaper rate, on account of the water-carriage from Constantinople. They have also some dealings with the Ssuanes, who are called Ebse by the Basianes, and principally supply them with sulphur and lead.

About six German miles to the south-west of the village of Ckaratschai lies the mountain Dshuman-taw, where commence the settlements of the Ssuanes. Between this mountain and the Elbrus, to the east, the narrow valley in which flows the little river Teberdeh runs far up into the Snowy Mountains; and through it leads the road over the Caucasus to the sources of the river Zcheniss-taqali, whence it proceeds to Imerethi and Mingrelia. This valley is in many parts extremely narrow, and bordered by steep rocks. At its southern extremity, where it opens towards Imerethi, it is about 800 fathoms in breadth; and near it on the west is situated the village of Kemme, which yet belongs to the Imerethian province of Letschkum, and is composed of forty stone cottages. The northern entrance of this valley is reported to have been once covered with buildings and fortified; the inhabitants of the adjacent country even pretend to have seen remains of walls in different places, and assert that the fortress was built on massy iron posts and beams; for which reason, as well as on account of its barring the road, it was denominated the Iron Gate.

Similar fortifications, in narrow valleys that lead through the mountains, are frequent in the country of the Ssuanes; and Father Lamberti assures us, that about

150 years ago a wall sixty leagues in length protected Mingrelia in the north against the incursions of the tribes residing northward of the Caucasus. Reineggs conjectures that the above-mentioned valley between the Elbrus and Dshuman-taw was most probably the *Porta Cumana* of Pliny*. This writer, however, is totally silent respecting any such gate, but observes that at the Caspian gates there is a castle, situated on a rock, called Kumania;—but this is a very different thing from a Kumanian gate. What Pliny meant by the Caucasian gates I shall explain in the sequel; only remarking here, that the *Porta Cumana* is one of the many mistakes of Reineggs, and that it is not mentioned by one single writer of antiquity.

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* Rein. ii. 20, 21.—In another part of his work (ii. 140) he gives a still more erroneous account of this country when he says: "It seems manifest that the whole Porta Cumana on the south side was opened by human labour; and that this prodigious valley, as it at present appears, was formed by the excavations of miners. The shafts, and perhaps rich galleries, are to be sure choked with earth, so as to be no longer discoverable; but wherever the rock yet remains bare, hornblende slate constantly alternates, and is deranged towards the north, when you have proceeded one third of the way, which is then obstructed by gray unproductive rock. After this the traveller is obliged to traverse, with great labour, trackless valleys, bordered by lofty hills of granite, before he can reach the northern entrance of the Porta Cumana. If according to ancient accounts—(to what accounts can the author allude?)—we were to infer the number of miners from the daily quantity of gold and silver which was to be furnished, this could not be accomplished but by a great number of workmen; but as so great a number of persons in a small space would but have hindered one another, the only conjecture left us is, that *the ore was so abundant, so rich, and so easily wrought, that it was possible for a small number of men to furnish the stated quantity of gold and silver.*"—No traces, however, of these productive gold and silver mines are now left, neither is mention made of them by any other writer than Strabo. The account of the latter likewise sounds extremely fabulous; for in treating of the Soanes he says, that *the brooks in their country are reported to carry gold along with their waters, and that these barbarians catch it in perforated plates, and with woolly skins. Hence originated the fable of the golden fleece.*—In all probability, what here appears in the form of narrative is only an hypothesis for explaining the story of the golden fleece. Attempts have nevertheless been made in modern times, but ineffectually, to discover these rich mines again. John Fischer, who was afterwards found to be a lunatic, presented a plan to the Emperor Paul I. for seeking these productive mines mentioned by Strabo, but received no answer. On the actual occupation of Georgia he repeated his proposal, which was then approved. He was sent on an expedition to the Caucasus; and Count Mussin Puschkin, who went thither as Inspector of Mines, was ordered to furnish him with four miners and two mining-engineers as assistants. The first thing he did was to seek the tribe of Lytschu mentioned by Reineggs, but of which he could of course obtain no information, because its name is not what he states, but Letschkum. At length, after much fruitless travelling up and down, he heard of a village called Lytschu, on the frontiers of Georgia and the Imerethian province of Wachan. He accordingly repaired thither without loss of time, but brought back with him nothing but barren stone. Not long since another mineralogist set out on an expedition in quest of the golden fleece.

The chief princely families of the Ckaratschai, with the members of them now living, are as follow:

1. *Family of Krym Schochali.*

Gilachsan, son of Binagor.
Asslanbeg, son of Gilachsan.
Ckara, son of Gilachsan.
Isslam, son of Aschagmat.
Missost, or Missaost, son of Kutschuck.
Kasi, son of Kutschuck.
Issmail, son of Kutschuk.
Binagor, son of Mudara.
Missost, son of Mudara.
Aschagmat, son of Mudara.

2. *Family of Hassan* (*Hassan-ullu*).

Mussa,	Issmail,	Dudaruck,
Osman,	Binagor,	Missost.

3. *Family of Ckumuck* (*Ckumuck-ullu*).

Omar,	Dshenai,	Osman.

4. *Family of Schaban* (*Schaban-ullu*).

Machmat,	Tschopal,	Hassana,
Tau Ssulthan,		Gudenet.

5. *Family of Dotta I.* (*Dotta-ullu*).

Omar,	Osman,	Krymschochal.

6. *Family of Kotschkar* (*Kotschkar-ullu*).

Murtassa,	Omar,
Osman,	Kerim.

7. *Family of Tschotch'cha I.* (*Tschotsch'chalar*).

Machmut,	Osman,
Hassana,	Mustafa.

8. *Family of Kaissin* (*Kaissin-ullu*).

Kaissin,	Mirsa,
Bekir,	Osman.

9. *Family of Mirsa-beg* (*Mirsa-beg-ullu*).

Mirsa-beg,	Dshenai,
Hassana,	Kotschanai.

10. *Family of Thotsch'cha II.* (*Tschotsch'cha-ullu*).

Koschenai,	Hassana.

11. *Family of Korchmass* (*Korchmasslarin*).

Korchmasa,	Hadshibeg,
Hussana,	Hagim.

12. *Family of Dotta II.* (*Dotta-ullu*).

Mirsabeg,	Kaissin,	Dshambulat,
Dschenai,		Mirsai.

13. *Family of Botesch* (*Botesch-ullu*).

Osman,	Hassana,
Mustafa,	Ismail.

To the Ckaratschai belongs also the tribe of Urusby, residing on the elevated ridge of Tschalpack, which separates them from Baksan: this tribe comprehends about 150 families, and is under the authority of the Kabardian prince Missaost. Besides the descendants of families long settled at Ckaratschai there are in that village a family from Derbend, and two or three whose progenitors came from the neighbourhood of Endery.

II. Eastward of Ckaratschai, in the slate-mountains, lies the Tartar district of Baksan, contiguous to the upper part of the considerable river of the same name, and to the source of the brook Kulkudshin, which runs into a salt-water lake whence salt is procured in winter. The inhabitants of this as well as of the succeeding district are denominated Tscherigä by the Tscherkessians.

III. The Tschegem or Tscherigä, in Tscherkessian Tschegem Kusch'ha, are composed of about 400 families, and inhabit the most elevated snow and slate mountains on the rivers Tschegem and Schawdan, as far westward as the Baksan. They have

princes (*By*), nobles (*Usden*), and boors (*Tschagor*), though the latter are by no means dependent on the former, but all are alike subject to the neighbouring Kabardian princes, who yet from time to time demand of them the ancient tribute, the payment of which however they resist by force when opportunity offers. They cultivate wheat, millet, and barley, and brew excellent beer. They keep numerous flocks, and many horses, which are small, and not capable of carrying heavy burdens, but extremely serviceable in travelling among the mountains, for which purpose they are sold in considerable numbers to the people of Imerethi and Mingrelia. They have likewise a peculiar species of small mules, called Ckara Katir, produced by crossing the horse with the small breed of asses which is common also in Georgia. Their honey is excellent, but often has an intoxicating quality when collected by the bees from the rhododendron and azalea pontica. For the privilege of depasturing their cattle in the lower valleys they are obliged to pay a tax to the Tscherkessians; and though they have long been solicitous to shake off this yoke, and to become Russian subjects, they have not yet been able to accomplish this object. Their territory, together with that of their neighbours the Balkars, is called by the Georgians Bassiana, and not, according to the account of Güldenstädt and Pallas, Dshikethi, as I have already observed. They seem to have been formerly more numerous, a conjecture which is strengthened by the many ancient ruins and stone churches yet existing in the mountains. Their villages are the following:

1. Ulu-Elt, in the high range of hills along the Tschegem. Near it is an ancient church, six yards in length, seated upon a rock, in which is hewn a serpentine passage that was formerly furnished with iron rails. Here are yet preserved relics of books, of which Pallas procured a few leaves that were not brought away without great danger. One belonged to a New Testament in the ancient Greek language, and the others to Greek church-books. At this place pregnant women make vows for their happy delivery, which are commonly fulfilled by the slaughter of some animal for the purpose of an entertainment that is held there.
2. Tschegem, on the right bank of the river of that name, opposite to the preceding.
3. Tabenindshik.
4. Berdebi, lower down, likewise on the right bank of the Tschegem.
5. Urssundag.
6. Mimula, still lower down, on the right of the Tschegem, not far from the spot where it receives the Schawdan into its left.

7. Adshaga, on the left of the Tschegem, a little to the south-west of Berdebi.
8. Tscherlichc, on both sides of the Schawdan, not far from its sources, at the foot of the snowy mountains.
9. Bülüngu, on the right of the Schawdan, about ten wersts lower.
10. Usduschird.
11. Kam, on both sides of the Schawdan, just before its influx into the left of the Tschegem.

In the valley through which flows the Schawdan are iron ores (*temirbasch*), which the inhabitants smelt, and from the lead ore of Mount Ckargadshei-taw (Lead-mountain) they extract lead, of which they cast their balls. They likewise make saltpetre, and have gunpowder to sell.

IV. The Balckar are called by the Tscherkessians Balckar Kusch'ha, in Georgian properly Bassiani, and by themselves Malkar-aul, that is, Malkarian villages. They exceed 1200 families, and live partly dispersed, partly together in villages, in the districts bordering on the upper portions of the rivers Tscherek, Psigon-ssu, and Aruan or Argudan, in the lofty slate-mountains. To them belongs also the district of Bissinge, on the Upper Mischdshigk, which empties itself into the left of the Tschegem. The chief part of their merchandize goes to Radsha and Oni on the Rion in Imerethi, which place is said to be 55 wersts distant from their principal village Ulu Malkar. The way thither leads through tremendous snow-clefts, where travellers are often overwhelmed by the avalanches that roll down from above. The commodities which they carry to Radsha and Oni consist chiefly of felt mantles (*jamatscheh*), light yellow and brown cloth (*schall*), which is deemed very good, felts, hoods (*baschlik*), and furs. These they barter for silks and cottons, needles, gold and silver tissue, tobacco, pipes, and other small wares. At Oni they purchase more particularly great quantities of rock salt, which is sent all over Georgia and the Caucasus in large oblong and square blocks, weighing five or six pud, from the mine situated near Bajasid beyond Eriwan. They likewise receive Russian salt from the Line and the Tschernomorzes, whence it is brought to them by Jews and Kabardians. Another principal article imported by them from Radsha consists of kettles and vessels of copper, which are brought from Erserum by way of Bathumi and Pothi. The Balkar and Tschegem are also reported to melt much of the Russian copper coin that falls into their hands, and to make it up into dishes and plates. On the way from Dugor to the Balkars, near the rivulet Chassria-Don, is situated Mount Isdi-chong (that is, Lead-hill), containing abundance of ore, which is fetched away by the Dugores, who smelt it at home. From the Dugorian village of

Masquawa carriages may approach it with ease. According to the Georgian accounts, their princely family of Bassiat, which is esteemed equal in rank to the Kabardian nobles, is of Ossetian descent; but this statement seems to require confirmation. Their villages are as follow:

1. Ulu-Malkar, or Great Malkar, on the little river Psigon-ssu, which empties itself into the right of the Tscherek. It is the chief village and residence of the family of Bassiat, of about 180 houses.
2. Gobsarta, on the same river.
3. Churdaira.
4. Schawarda, on the left of the Tscherek.
5. Julu, lower down on the same side.
6. Iskanta.
7. Adshalga.
8. Mochaula, at the influx of the Psigon into the Tscherek.
9. Bissinga, a village with a particular district, between the rivers Tscherek-chaco, or the rapid Tscherek, and the Missdschigk, which rises in the west, and falls below the mouth of the preceding into the Tscherek. Below Bissinga, the brook Ckara-ssu, that is, Black Water, empties itself into the left of the Tscherek-chaco.
10. Chulam, on the west side of the Tscherek-chaco, a large and limpid river which rises in the high mountains, and falls into the west side of the Tscherek. Below its influx there is a deep hole in the Tscherek filled with extremely clear but salt and bitter water, which is termed in Tscherkessian Tscherek-Jana, which signifies *Tscherek's mother*. Near this spot the steep rocky banks of the Tscherek approach so near together as to allow a bridge which leads from the Kabardah to the Balkars to be thrown across. The village of Chulam is inhabited by families of Ssuanes, who still continue to dress exactly in the Imerethian fashion, and are called Ssoni. They reside not here only, but also dispersed in the neighbouring range of Ckaschka-tau, that is, Lead-mountain, and are subject to the Kabardians, with whom they barter their own productions and slaves of both sexes for salt and grain.

CHAPTER XXV.

ARRANGEMENTS FOR A JOURNEY ON HORSEBACK—PACK-HORSES—REQUISITE CONVOY—NEGLECT OF THE COSSACKS ASSIGNED AS AN ESCORT—DANGER OF TRAVELLING ON THE LINE—CAUSE OF IT—DEPARTURE FROM GEORGIEWSK FOR MOSDOK—MARIINSKAJA—PAWLOWSKAJA—VALLEY IN WHICH THE KURA FLOWS—COURSE OF THAT RIVER—CONJECTURE RESPECTING THE MOUTH OF THE MALKA—ERROR IN THE PODROBNAJA KARTA RESPECTING THE COURSE OF THE KURA—TARTAR SEPULCHRAL CHAPELS, CALLED BJELOI MESSDSHET BY THE RUSSIANS—SSOLENOI BROD—SALDATSKAJA MALKA—PROCHLADNOI—JEKATERINOGRAD, FORMERLY THE CAPITAL OF THE CAUCASIAN PROVINCE—MOSDOK—ITS VARIOUS INHABITANTS—JESUITS—ARMENIANS—THEIR NUPTIAL CEREMONIES—RELIGIOUS TENETS—THE RIVER TEREK—ITS DIFFERENT SPECIES OF FISH—CULTURE OF SILK ON THE TEREK—VINEYARDS—KISLAR BRANDY—MELONS AND WATER-MELONS—BADLESHAN—DEPARTURE OF A CONVOY OF PROVISIONS FOR GEORGIA.

DURING my absence from Georgiewsk my people had made all the necessary preparations for a journey over the mountains; for Mosdok is usually the place where travellers leave their carriages and pursue their route on horseback. It would be easy enough, to be sure, to proceed in a carriage as far as Wladikawkas on the Terek, and at the very foot of the Caucasus; but few travellers attempt it, partly because it would be a very difficult matter to repair any accident that might happen to carriages in the steppes of the Kabardah, and partly because there is so much more chance of escaping on horseback in case of falling in with an enemy. It was therefore necessary to divide my baggage and books, and to pack them in trunks and portmanteaus (*schamadani*), which being fastened together two and two with cords, were laid upon pack-horses. These double packages are termed in Russian Wjuki; and this is the usual method of transporting goods throughout all the Caucasus; nay, even the greatest part of the ammunition and provision for the army stationed in Georgia is conveyed thither from Russia in this manner. The heaviest load that can be laid on one horse is six pud, or 240 Russian pounds, which must be divided into two equal parts, one on each side, so as to preserve a due balance: I required three saddle- and five pack-horses, as I left my Russian ser-

vant on the Line, and took my German attendant only along with me; partly because one person additional occasions a considerable increase in the expenses of travelling, and partly because I was obliged in Georgia to have a native about me as interpreter.

As I had been informed that in a few days a large convoy of effects belonging to General Field-marshal Count Gudowitsch would set out with a strong escort from Mosdok for Tiflis, I resolved to join it, and hastened to reach Mosdok before its departure. Having completed all my preparations for the journey, I solicited Governor von Kartwelinow and General Ssergei Alexewitsch Bulghakow, commander in-chief on the Caucasian Line, for the papers necessary to my being furnished with post-horses and escorts; and these I received in the afternoon of the 16th of December. Our carriages were packed, and nothing prevented us from starting but the governor, who refused his permission, as our journey, till we should overtake the convoy, would have been extremely dangerous, and no reliance is to be placed on the Cossacks assigned for an escort, who commonly betake themselves to flight on the appearance of an enemy, and, anxious only to save themselves and their horses, leave the travellers committed to their care in the lurch. It is safer in general to go with an escort of infantry, of which the mountaineers stand more in awe, as they themselves almost always attack on horseback, and then their antagonists on foot have a great advantage in taking aim at them. For the rest, it is not too much to assert that the Kabardians are allowed full liberty to commit what depredations they please, and to plunder the Russians in their own territory, because the Cossacks and other troops are strictly enjoined not to kill any of them, but to take them alive; which is next to impossible, as the latter are much worse mounted and armed than the enemy.—Were we to reckon up all the persons who during the last twenty-five years have been carried off by the Tscherkessians and Tschetschenzes on the Line, the amount would prove beyond comparison greater than the number of those who were swept away by the late pestilence in the Caucasian government. As such strict precautions are taken against that disease, why are not proper measures adopted against this far more destructive and disgraceful scourge, which depopulates a tract 150 wersts in breadth along the Russian frontiers? for the Kabardians frequently advance in their incursions beyond Madshar, to the boundaries of other governments. It is indeed no wonder that this nation is so inimically disposed towards the Russians, as the latter have, under the appearance of protection and friendship, incroached more and more upon their territories, and now cooped them up within a fourth part of their former pasturages.

As, however, the Russian government has once adopted the vicious policy of injuring a brave and estimable nation in every possible way, it should now at least endeavour to counteract by energy the mischievous consequences of such a system.

On the 17th, about eight in the morning, we at length left Georgiewsk by the eastern gate of the fortress, descended the steep declivity of the steppe, and crossed the Podkumka, which continues to flow here with considerable rapidity. Instead of the seven Cossacks who had been ordered to escort me, I obtained only two men, because all the others had gone a-hunting with General Bulghakow. About noon we reached the stanitza of Mariinskaja, on the brow of the deep ravine through which the little river Saluka pursues its course to the Kuma. In descending the steep west side of this ravine, the horses were unable to hold the carriage, and ran away with it at full gallop down into the valley, and through the river, till at last they were stopped by the numerous black-thorn bushes on its banks. We had every reason to expect that the vehicle would be dashed in pieces, but fortunately it received no material injury.—Pawlowskaja, the next stanitza, is 27 wersts from Georgiewsk, and is situated on the left bank of the little river Kura, which rises in a range of wooded hills in the steppe, called in Tartar Tschapschakle, and in Tscherkessian Oschapschak. The Kura has properly speaking two sources, the eastern being termed by the Tscherkessians Kura jug, or the Dry Kura, and the western Kura Ischgwa, or the Great Kura. The river runs eastward, bearing a little to the north, and terminates in several small swampy lakes in the steppe near the sands of Anketeri.

The spacious, deeply indented valley of the Kura, whose bed is entirely composed of loose round stones, was incontestably formed by a much larger stream than the brook which is now almost lost in it; and as this valley continues of the same breadth upwards to the west and south-west, and runs to the Malka near Bjeloi Messdshet, it is extremely probable that the Malka, whose current rolls along the same kind of pebbles as cover this valley, must formerly have emptied itself by this channel into the Caspian Sea, which once extended further on this side. Perhaps also part of this stream might, at that time, have run off by means of the valley that cuts across from Bjeloi Messdshet to the rivulet Saluka or Solka, which, as well as the bed of that brook, is likewise full of pebbles, through the channel of the Solka toward the Kuma, and have had one common mouth with the latter. Some ancient traces, indicating a more recent alteration of its course, are actually still to be seen between Ssolenoi Brod and Prochladnoi.—It is indeed probable that the Baksan, the Terek, and other rivers, may have fallen more to the northward into what was formerly

part of the sea, and that the drift-sands between the present Kuma and the Terek originated in the quartz-sand carried thither by their currents*.

If we assume it for a fact that the Malka, which is also called Balch by the Tartars, formerly emptied itself by a separate channel into the Caspian Sea, it is highly probable that the alteration of its course must have taken place at no very distant period. Ptolemy indeed mentions but two rivers which run into that sea to the north of the Caucasus, as far as the Wolga, the Alonta, and the Udon (Kuma); but the rivers in the steppe could not have changed their courses so recently as his time.—The deep valley of the Kura, which extends to the banks of the Malka, has likewise in all probability occasioned an unpardonable error in the *Podrobnaja Karta*, which represents it as rising in the east, running westward, and discharging itself into the Malka to the south, whereas the very reverse is really the case. The Kura rises about a (German) mile northward of the bank of the Malka, at first runs north-east, and then nearly due east, till it is lost in the abovementioned sands of the steppe. How this error could have been overlooked in the revision, is incomprehensible; especially since the course of the Kura is accurately laid down in the map to Güldenstädt's Travels, as well as in that of the frontiers of the Ottoman empire by Zannoni.

In going from Pawlowskaja through the valley of the Kura to the bank of the Malka, which is about two German miles distant, you come to a pleasant circular glen, which opens to the west, and bears the Tscherkessian appellation of Kusch-bshapa. Upon a hill in this glen is the monument of Prince Missaost, a son of Ckara-Mursa and father of Arsslan-beg, the latter of whom was, under the name of Ssokur Hhadshi, a celebrated robber and enterprising soldier. He was prince of the Ckubanian Nogays of the horde of Kassai Aul, who, eighty years since, roved about in these parts and lower down the Malka, nay, even beyond the Terek in the environs of Dshulat. This monument is a heptagonal chapel about fifteen feet high. Facing it stands a stone with a Tartar inscription, and near the aperture for the window is the impression of a large human hand in the mortar. This chapel is styled by the Russians Bjeloi (the white) Messdshed. On the opposite side of the Malka are two Tscherkessian villages of the family of Tschashukin. Two (German) miles to the east of Bjeloi Messdshet is a place which, on account of a passage over the Malka, is denominated by the Tscherkessians Scheguka Jikego, by the Tartars Tussketschu, and by the Russians Ssolenoi Brod; all which names

* Pallas *südl. Statthalt.* i. 356.

signify the Salt Ford. Here is now stationed a double guard of Cossacks, to prevent the Tscherkessians from crossing the Malka.

In the afternoon we left Pawlowskaja, where we were obliged to wait a long time on horseback; and after proceeding eighteen wersts, which we performed in little more than an hour, we reached Saldatskaja Malka, a considerable village. Ten wersts further we came to the redoubt of Ssoliman Brod, thus named from an old ford of the Tscherkessians in the Malka, and at the distance of five more wersts, to the station and village of Prochladnoi, one (German) mile from the conflux of the Baksan and Malka. Here at that time resided Major-general Del Pozzo, the inspector of the Kabardians (Kabardinskoi Pristaw). From Prochladnoi our road led through the village of Priblishnie to the town and fortress of Jekaterinograd, 17 wersts distant, on the left side of the Malka, where we arrived about midnight. In almost every stage the Cossacks assigned us quietly turned back when we had proceeded about half way, so that we were usually without any escort when we reached the stanitza. This affords an additional proof of the want of order that prevails even in the military arrangements on the Line. On account of the quarantine we were refused admittance into the town, so that we were obliged to pass the night in the open air; which was the more unpleasant, as I had sent forward my felt-tent and other things to Mosdok, and the chillness of a December night is not particularly grateful even in more southern latitudes. The hardship of our case was further aggravated at first by the want of wood to kindle a fire. On this occasion I once more remarked how little the Russians are really capable of enduring cold; for my student was almost in tears, and some of the Russian carriers, who had likewise stopped here, could not put on furs enough one over another. Upon the whole, foreigners bear the cold in Russia much better than the natives, who begin to wear their furs in autumn and never leave them off till the middle of spring. The degree to which they heat their apartments is also intolerable. On the other hand, foreigners, who during the first years of their residence in Russia have not accustomed themselves to furs, scarcely ever want them afterwards; and for my own part, I always found a wadded surtout or wrapper much more pleasant wear than oppressive over-heating furs, which I never used except when travelling in the depth of winter.

Jekaterinograd is situated, like Georgiewsk, on the lofty brow of a declivity which descends abruptly to the Malka. This town, which forms a pentagon, is the strongest fortress on the Caucasian Line, and was founded in 1776. The two sides next to the precipice being sufficiently protected by it, are not fortified;

but the other three are defended by ramparts, ditches, and three batteries. From the year 1785, Jekaterinograd was the chief town of the Caucasian province of the government of Astrachan, till a few years since this province itself was erected into a government, and Georgiewsk was made its capital.

All the country round Jekaterinograd, as far as the Terek, is very fertile, and bears the Tartar name of Besch-tamack, that is, the Five Mouths, because the rivers Malka, Baksan, Tschegem, and Tscherek, unite there with one another, and afterwards with the Terek. At the place where Jekaterinograd now stands was formerly the principal passage of the Tscherkessians across that river, over which they drove their cattle.

Early in the morning of December 18th we left our cold quarters, and after proceeding twelve wersts came to the junction of the Malka with the Terek, which lay about a werst to our right. The Cossack posts were every where doubled on account of the quarantine, and some of them were even stationed beyond the Malka and the Terek, which rivers form the boundary between the Russians and the Tscherkessians. Our road then led through the villages of Alexandria and Podpolnoi to Pawlodolsk, the last station before Mosdok, 22 wersts from Jekaterinograd. Thirteen wersts beyond it, we arrived before it was yet noon at Mosdok.

As Governor Kartwelinow had given me a particular letter of recommendation to Lieutenant-colonel Dianow, commandant of this fortress, I drove up to his house, to request him to assign me convenient and roomy quarters; which, to my great satisfaction, I obtained in the house of Stephen Tantissow an Armenian Catholic.

Mosdok, which is reckoned 115 wersts from Georgiewsk, stands close to the Terek on the steep declivity of the steppe, which borders the whole left side of that river, and is here about 12 yards high. The name of this town is properly of Tscherkessian origin, being composed of *Mess*, wood, and *dok*, deaf, and signifying a thick wood: for such was the appearance of this spot before the erection of the fortress, and in these woods the Kabardians kept their flocks and herds at certain seasons of the year Mosdok was built in 1763; the proprietor of this district, Mursa Kurgok Kantschiokin, who had been baptized at Petersburg, having previously ceded it for ever to the crown of Russia. The remains of stone edifices and a walled cellar, which are said to have resembled the ruins of Madshar in the style of their architecture, were discovered, not more than thirty years since, in the wood seven miles distant from this place, called Old Mosdok.

The fortress is accessible on the north and east sides only, and might be considered as a strong barrier against the mountaineers, if the garrison were more numerous,

and the guns on the ramparts were kept in better condition. At present they chiefly consist of very heavy iron ordnance fit only for battering cannon.

The inhabitants of Mosdok are Russians, Armenians, Armenian Catholics, Georgians, Tartars, and Ossetes: here are also many baptized Tscherkessians. Owing to the concourse of so many different nations, most of the inhabitants engaged in trade speak not only the Russian but also the Tartar, Armenian, Georgian, Tscherkessian, and Ossetian tongues, and have highly cultivated their capacity for learning languages. From a visit to the market-house (*Gostinnoi dvor*), and from the quantity and diversity of the commodities for sale, and the number of the purchasers, may easily be inferred the degree of prosperity enjoyed by the inhabitants of a Russian town. The market-house of Mosdok, however, still makes but a miserable figure, and it is only in one shop, belonging to Armenians of Nachtschiwan, that you meet with European goods. Most of the others are shut up, and the rest are occupied by Armenian and Ossetian tradesmen of this place, who deal in small wares and eatables. The traffic of Mosdok is said to have formerly been far more considerable; but the present insecurity on the Line, the quarantine on the Russian side, and the pestilence among the mountaineers, have contributed to its extraordinary decline. The occupation of Georgia may also have concurred in producing this effect, as the market for the sale of Russian and European commodities to the inhabitants of this country has been transferred by that measure to Tiflis.

The houses are partly of wood and partly of wattle-work plastered over with mortar. The windows commonly look into the court-yard, so that nothing is to be seen from the street but bare walls plastered with clay or whitewashed. Below the town, on the Terek, are several water-mills of miserable construction; but the stones wear so exceedingly, that it is scarcely possible to eat the bread made of the flour ground by them, on account of the quantity of sand which is mixed with it.

Besides a Russian church, Mosdok contains two belonging to the Armenians, and one to the Catholics. The latter was built about forty years since by the Capuchin missionaries stationed at this place; and as they are all dead, it is now in the hands of the Jesuits, who have here a superior, a father, and a lay-brother. I hoped to be able to procure from them some information respecting the mountaineers; but the shortness of their residence at Mosdok had allowed them no opportunity to make themselves acquainted with those people, or to commence any intercourse with them. The father, Aegidius Henry, who is a native of the French Netherlands, and was educated in England, has in a short time made an extraordinary proficiency in the Armenian language; and though he had begun to learn it only nine

months before my first visit to Mosdok, he was already able to hold public discourses in it in the church. Divine service also, with the exception of the mass, is held here in the Armenian language.

This artful Jesuit some time since formed a plan for civilizing such of the mountain-tribes of the Caucasus as are not yet completely subject to the Russian sceptre, by means of members of his fraternity, in the same manner as they did the savage inhabitants of Paraguay. According to this proposal, the government was to give full scope to the order, and would thus rid itself of an expensive and troublesome concern. This plan, which was approved and supported by several of the civil officers on the Line, he transmitted to St. Petersburg; where it does not seem to have been most favourably received, and is now totally forgotten.

During my residence at Mosdok I had an opportunity of attending an Armenian wedding, and remarked the following ceremonies practised on the occasion:—The evening preceding the nuptials, the bridegroom invites all his friends of the male sex to his house, and entertains them in the best manner. He then sends for a barber to shave the heads and beards of the whole company, who afterwards go to the bath. Very early the next morning the bridegroom repairs with his train to the house of his future father-in-law, to fetch his bride. The father then joins their hands, and follows them with his whole company to church, where the marriage ceremony is performed by the ecclesiastic. After their return from church the festivities last three days without intermission, and it is not till the third night that the new married couple are permitted to sleep together. A singular custom which prevails among several Asiatic nations has also obtained among the Armenians, which is, that the wife, during the first year of her marriage, and sometimes for a still longer period, must not speak upon any account to the parents of her husband.

The following are the principal points in which the Armenians differ in matters of faith from the Roman Catholic Christians:

1. They believe in the existence of *one* nature only in our Saviour, namely, the divine.
2. The souls of the righteous are not condemned to purgatory.
3. The punishment of the wicked and the reward of the good will not commence till the last judgement.
4. The Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father only, and not from the Son.
5. They do not regard the Pope of Rome as the visible head of the universal church.
6. They submit to no councils, except the first three general ones; and deny in particular the authority of that of Chalcedon.

7. They have no extreme unction.
8. At the mass they do not mix the wine with water, in order to denote the single nature of our Saviour.
9. In the service of the mass they make mention of certain heretics.
10. The priests only, and not the bishops, impart the sacrament of confirmation.
11. They celebrate the birth, appearance, and baptism of Christ all on one day, namely, the 6th of January.
12. In slaughtering animals, in the purification of women after child-birth, and in the choice and rejection of clean and unclean meats, they have retained some of the peculiarities of the Jewish religion.

The current of the Terek at Mosdok is very rapid, owing to the elevated situation of its sources in the snowy range of the Caucasus. From Stephan Tzminda in the high mountains, to Lars at the commencement of the lime-stone range only, it is said to have a fall of 95 English feet. In July and August, when it is swoln eight or ten feet above its usual height in autumn, winter, and spring, it becomes impetuous, overflows its banks in many places, and inundates part of the adjacent country. It not only undermines and washes away its banks, but also here and there forms new beds for itself, and chokes up the old ones with sand, upon which the trees washed down from the mountains, and floats of timber, are frequently stranded. This river is not frozen over every year, but is nevertheless covered with drift-ice in winter. About this season its water is tolerably clear; but from the place where it leaves the mountains and enters the plain of the Kabardah, it is at other times rendered extremely turbid by earthy particles which it holds in solution. When taken up, however, it soon settles, and the water is then fine and well tasted. Below Kislar the Terek has much less fall, and divides into several branches, where the current flows so gently, that it has time to deposit the earthy particles, by which these branches are gradually becoming more and more choked up with mud, and sometimes one, sometimes another, assumes the appearance of the main river.

The Terek and all its tributary streams are but scantily stocked with fish, of which they possess no peculiar species. They are all natives of the Caspian, which ascend the river from that sea for the sake of spawning and fresh water, and return after the spawning-season to their former abodes. Hence it is only at particular times that fish of one or more of these species are to be caught in any quantity.

This scarcity is more especially owing to the shallowness of the river at its mouth, where large fishes, such as the sturgeon, scarcely find water sufficient to cover them. At the same time this water is nearly stagnant, and in summer warm and unwholesome; while the current of its principal subordinate streams, the Malka and Ssundsha, is too cold and rapid.

The most common fishes in the Terek are carp, barbel, sturgeon, and *sezruga*. The salmon is so abundant here in January and February, and of such superior flavour, that it might be smoked with advantage, and exported to the Empire. The cyprinus chalcoides (in Russian *Shirnaja Ryba*), which, on account of its excellence, is called by the Persians *Schah-mahi*, or king's-fish, and is also known by the appellation of the Kislar herring, is so numerous in the winter months, in the Terek, as to form the most common species in that river. This fat and highly palatable fish, which is usually smoked, might completely supersede the use of the Dutch herrings, and is exceedingly cheap, larger, and of better flavour. Many of them are 45 inches long, and weigh 18 pounds. Pike, *ssandarts*, and perch, are rare in the Terek; but, on the other hand, otters and tortoises are found towards the sea*.

The tract on the left side of the Terek, between Mosdok and Besch-tamack, was formerly called by the Tscherkessians Jeroschta. The river on the opposite side forms at high water two long islands, named Eagle Islands (*Ostrowa Orlowy*), the southernmost of which is separated from the Little Kabardah by an arm denominated the Demirian. Six wersts to the east of Mosdok was a small wood, styled in Tartar Jüs Terek, that is, the Hundred White Poplars; on the site of which is now a settlement called Ssto Derew, or the Hundred Trees. Half way thither some ancient ruins were formerly to be seen.

The culture of silk, which has been raised upwards of forty years in the Cossack stanitzas between Mosdok and Kislar, has recently become extremely flourishing, chiefly through the exertions of Marshal von Bieberstein; so that this country, together with Georgia, now furnishes a considerable quantity of raw silk for the Russian manufactures at Moscow and other places. The cultivation of the vine, though very general, has not however attained perfection here, because the inhabitants possess neither the requisite knowledge nor sufficient patience. Hence the Kislar wine is still rather below middling, and this branch of agriculture is liable to be totally lost. There are, however, individual proprietors of vineyards who bestow more pains upon them, and are less solicitous about the quantity than the quality of their produce. Thus, for instance, I have drunk Kislar wine at the house of Governor

* *Güldenstädt*, i. 174.

von Kartwelinow, at Georgiewsk, which had been some years in bottles, and was little inferior to Hermitage in strength and flavour. A more lucrative branch of business than the wine-trade, to the inhabitants of the Mosdok Line, is the sale of brandy, which is made of excellent quality at and near Kislar, and sent all over Russia, nay even to distant parts of Siberia: it is every where known by the name of Kislar brandy, and is in great request.

The steppe to the north of the Caucasus might almost be termed the native country of the cucumber, the pumpkin, the melon, and the water-melon; the two latter in particular are uncommonly fine in the neighbourhood of Mosdok. Of the melon, called in Tartar Kaun, there are several species, each surpassing the other in flavour; but the best of all is large and long, and has a light green pulp. Of the water-melons, in Tartar Ckarbus, the best kind is that which has a dark red pulp, and a small seed resembling that of the pear. Attempts have been made of late years to distil brandy from water-melons, and it is far from tasting amiss. Fine as these fruits are on the Line, yet every stranger must abstain from eating them, an indulgence which would infallibly induce fever. The Armenians of this place however assert, that to the north of the Caucasus the water-melons, and to the south of those mountains the common melons, are particularly unwholesome. One of the most palatable vegetable productions is the fruit of the *solanum melongena*, which is cultivated in gardens, and called by the Asiatics *Badleshan*. It is eaten either roasted with meat, or alone highly seasoned and fried in oil or butter.

On the 21st of December we were still at Mosdok, and saw a large convoy of provisions cross the Terek at three different places. It was going in two-wheeled Tartar cars (*arba*) by way of Tartartup to Wladikawkas, and thence to Georgia, under an escort of 100 Jägers and 80 Cossacks, with two pieces of cannon; as the Tschetschenzes rendered the road to Wladikawkas very unsafe, and had shortly before surprised a convoy and taken the greatest part of it. I was extremely desirous to join this convoy, that I might explore the ruins of Tartartup; but Iwan Iliewitsch Dianow, commandant of Mosdok, by birth a Tartar, who has since been removed on account of various acts of oppression, would not, for reasons unknown to me, accede to my wishes, though I might have travelled with so much greater security and convenience than with the post-escort.

As I was more especially engaged, during my residence at Georgiewsk and Mosdok, in collecting particulars respecting the Tscherkessians, I think that this will be the most appropriate place to introduce them. For the sake of comparison, I shall subjoin the account of their manners left us by Georgio Interiano, a Genoese, by whom they were visited toward the conclusion of the 15th century.

CHAPTER XXVI.

OF THE TSCHERKESSIANS—THEIR NAME AND ORIGIN—FORMER SETTLEMENTS OF THAT PEOPLE—KABARDAH—GENEALOGY OF THEIR PRINCES—REMARKABLE TRADITION—VARIOUS CLASSES—PRINCES, NOBLES, AND BOORS—RELATIONS BETWEEN THE PRINCES AND THE NOBLES—FORMER PREROGATIVES OF THE PRINCES—PROPAGATION OF MOHAMMEDANISM AMONG THEM—THEY ARE BUT NOMINAL VASSALS TO RUSSIA—THEIR WAY OF LIVING—REVENGE—PRIDE OF BIRTH—MARRIAGE—DIVORCE—CONJUGAL RELATIONS—EDUCATION OF CHILDREN—BURIAL CEREMONIES—PUNISHMENT OF THEFT—EXTENSION OF THE TSCHERKESSIAN NATION—FIGURE AND COMPLEXION—DRESS—ARMS—TRADES—STYLE OF BUILDING—DOMESTIC ANIMALS—AGRICULTURE—FOOD—BEES—LANGUAGE OF THE TSCHERKESSIANS OF THEIR SECRET LANGUAGES—NAMES OF MEN AND WOMEN—APPELLATIONS GIVEN BY THEM TO THEIR NEIGHBOURS.

THE remarkable people of the Tscherkess, called by the Russians Tscherkessi, and by the Europeans erroneously Circassians, style themselves Adigé*, and now inhabit the country known by the name of the Great and Little Kabardah, and the districts bordering on several of the rivers that fall into the left of the Ckuban as far as Anapa and the Black Sea. The name Tscherkess is of Tartar origin, and is said to be composed of the words *Tscher*, road, and *Kessmek*, to cut off. Tscherkessân or Tscherkessidshi must therefore be synonymous with Jol Kessidshi, which is still used by the Turks, and signifies a cutter-off or intercepter of the roads, that is, a highwayman, a robber. Kessech or Kasach is the appellation given to the Tscherkessians by their neighbours the Ossetes; and as the Kasachia of the Byzantine

* Some writers have asserted that this name is derived from the Turco-Tartar *ádà*, *adak* or *athak*, island; but to this etymology the Tscherkessians themselves are total strangers, and have not even a word for *island* in their language. In Procopius, Strabo, Pliny, and Stephen of Byzantium, the Tscherkessians inhabiting the coast of the Black Sea are called Ζυχοι; and Georgio Interiano, a Genoese who wrote about the year 1502, begins his account of the manners of the Zyches with these words: *Zychi in lingua vulgare, Greca et Latina, cosi chiamati, et da Tartari et Turci dimandati Ciarcassi et in loro proprio linguaggio appellati Adige, habitano dal fiume della Tana su Lafia tutta quel ora maritima, verso el Bosphoro Cimerio.*—Ramusio *Viag.* ii. 196.

historians must be sought in the country contiguous to the Lower Ckuban inhabited by the Tscherkessians, it is possible enough that the Ossetes may be correct in their assertion that the nation of the Tscherkessians styled itself Kasach* anterior to the coming of the Kabardian princes from the Krym. The Tartars therefore seem to have adopted the word *Ckasack*, which has no further signification, into their language, to denote a man who leads a martial and roving life like the Tscherkessians. In the old Tartar and its kindred Turkish dialect it is not to be found, and many Tartars even know nothing of this signification.

The Tscherkessians were formerly spread much further northward, and their pasturages extended beyond the Kuma, called by them the Gum'ysch, that is, the Old Kuma. So lately as about forty years ago, the Nogays, Kumücks, Tscherkessians, and Abasses went annually to fetch their salt from the salt-lake of Dshanseit, lying northward of the mouth of that river, with which, together with the produce of a smaller lake at the source of the Manytsch, they supplied the inhabitants of all the mountains. By the extension of the Russian territory, and especially by the establishment of the Caucasian Line in 1777, they have been cooped up within narrower limits, and confined to the other side of the Terek, the Malka, and the Ckuban. Their principal passage over the Malka was near the site of the present fortress of Jekaterinograd, in the fertile plain called by the Tartars Besch-támäck, the Five Mouths; and this is still the spot where the river is usually forded by persons going to the Great Kabardah.

It would be a difficult matter to ascertain the origin of the name Kabardah; for the derivation of Reineggs from the river *Kabar* in the Krym, and *Dah*, village†, can scarcely be deemed worthy of adoption. Many of the Tscherkessians are still denominated Kabardah, and particularly an usden (nobleman) of the race of Tambie, on the little river Kiselibek, which falls into the Baksan. In their language also *Kabardiesch* signifies a Kabardian Tscherkess‡. Reineggs and Pallas are of opinion that this nation was formerly settled in the Krym, whence it emigrated to the country which it now occupies. The ruins of a castle, called by the Tartars Tscherkess-kjermän, are indeed still to be seen there; and the tract between the

* Massudi, an Arabian geographer who wrote about A.D. 947, says: "Mohammedan traders come annually from Rum, Armenia, and the country of the *Kaschek*, to Trebisonde, which lies on the sea of Constantinople." (*Notices et Extraits*, i. 16.) Here, however, he may perhaps allude to the Tartar inhabitants of Southern Georgia, in the districts of Kasachi, Bortschalo, and Bambak.

† I know not in what language; for in Tscherkessian *Kuadshe* signifies a village.

‡ The Tscherkessians are also denominated *Ghabartie* by the Tschetschenzes.

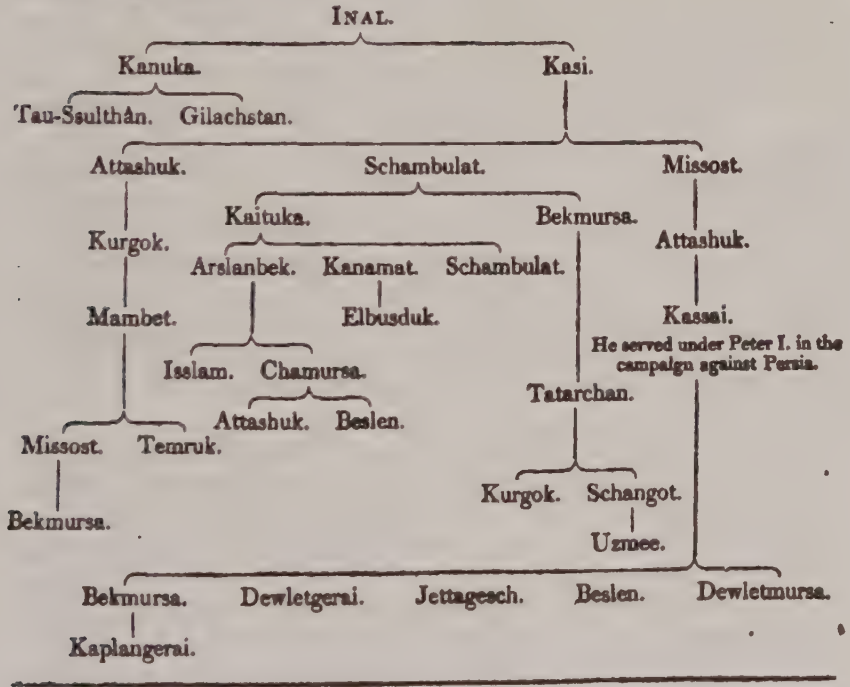
rivers Katscha and Belbik, the upper half of which yet bears the name of Kabardah, is denominated by them Tscherkess-tüs, or the Plain of the Tscherkessians. Nevertheless, I can see nothing in all this to authorize the conjecture respecting the migration of the Tscherkessians from the Krym. It appears, on the contrary, most probable that they dwelt at one and the same time in the plain to the north of the Caucasus and in the Krym, whence they were perhaps expelled by the Tartars under Batu-chan. Jehoshaphat Barbaro, who was the Venetian ambassador to the Persian court so far back as 1474, calls the present Kabardah by that name; and Strabo places the Kerketes in this country.

From the verbal communications of the elders of the nation I have collected the following particulars concerning their origin, or rather concerning the genealogy of their princes. Their progenitor, named Arab-chan, is said to have been an Arabian prince, who at a remote period came with a small retinue from his native land to Schantschir, a town long since destroyed, which was situated not far from Anapa in the country of the Nantuchas'ch, and whence the princes of the Temirgoi and all the Tscherkessians, according to their own accounts, derive their extraction. There in fact are still to be seen a rampart and ditch about half a (German) mile in diameter, which surrounded this ancient town, and extend eastward to the rivulet Psiff, and westward to the Nefil. To the north of this spot, towards the morasses of the Ckuban, are several small hills, which seem to have been forts. Arab-chan was succeeded by his son Churpataja, who left a son, Inal, surnamed *Nef*, or the Squinter, and is regarded by the princes of both Kabardahs as their progenitor. Inal had five sons, Tau-Ssulthan, Achlau, Mudar, Beslen, and Komuqua, who parted after his death, and divided the people among them. Tau-Ssulthan* was the eldest, and had the strongest party, and from him is descended the princely family of the same name that still possesses the west part of the Little Kabardah, which is named after it Taltostanié. Achlau and Mudar continued together, and were the founders of the two families who inhabit the eastern division called Gilachstanié. Beslen and Komuqua, though they separated from their brothers, remained in union with one another, and from them are descended the princes of the Great Kabardah or Kabardah proper, which is thence denominated Beslan-kéh. It is evident that these accounts relate solely to the pedigree of their princes, which goes no further back than between five and six centuries. That these should have come from Arabia is highly improbable, though their progenitor may have been named Arab-chan;

* Tau-Ssulthan is Tartar, and signifies Mountain-Lord.

but a disposition to derive the names of persons and places from events is a feature in the genius of the Asiatics: of this we find frequent instances in the Old Testament. Thus an old Tartar mulla once told me quite seriously, that the name Tscherkess is derived from *Tschehâr*, four (in Persian), and *Kess*, man (in Tartar), because the nation was descended from four brothers or founders. That the Tscherkessians resided at an earlier period in these parts we know from history; and about 1382 Tscherkessian Mamelukes founded in Egypt a particular dynasty which maintained its ascendancy till 1517, and in which so early as 1453 occurs an Inal, who must consequently be more ancient than the progenitor of the Kabardian princes.

According to Pallas*, the Kabardian princes deduce their pedigree from Inal in the following manner:



* *Süd. Statthalt.* i. 275.

Here it may not be improper to introduce the remarkable tradition current among the Tscherkessians, that in their country once resided Frengi or Europeans, to whom they were themselves in some measure subject. One of their princes, as they relate, had a very beautiful wife, whose charms made such an impression upon the ruler of the Frengi, during a visit, that he demanded her for himself. The Tscherkess made some excuse to gain time, and consulted with his family how he should act. At length he consented to give her up, on condition that the Frankish prince would promise to comply with a request which he should make. He himself took his wife to the enamoured Frank, who swore to grant his petition; on which the Tscherkess required the cession of the country occupied by the Frengi. This story, though it has a fabulous air, I was unwilling to pass unnoticed, as the Kabardians have still a proverb, which seems to allude to it, and which is: *For this land we gave our wives.* They also assert that Tartar-tup was formerly inhabited by Frengi.

The Tscherkessian nation is properly divided into five classes. To the first belong the princes, called in Tscherkessian *Pschech* or *Pschi*, and in Tartar *Bek* or *By*, who were formerly styled in the Russian annals *Wladelzy*, or rulers, but are now intitled *Knjäs* or princes. The second consists of the *Work*, or ancient nobles, whom the Tartars and Russians call *Usden*. The third comprehends the freedmen of the princes and usden, who by their manumission have themselves become usden, but in regard to military service are still under the authority of their former masters. To the fourth belong the freedmen of these new nobles; and to the fifth the vassals, *Tscho'kohtl*, denominated by the Russians *Chalopy*. These last are subdivided into such as are engaged in agriculture, and those who are employed as menial servants by the superior classes.

The number of the princes was formerly much more considerable than it is at present, because the last plague has made great havoc among this nation. To each branch of the princely houses belong several families of the usden, who consider the boors inherited by them from their forefathers as their property, because the transfer of them from one usden to another is prohibited. The prince is therefore the feudal lord of his nobles, and these again are masters over the vassals; but it often happens that noble families pass from one prince to another, and it is chiefly in this manner that the Great Kabardah has attained its present consequence. The boors have no specific taxes to pay to the usden; but though they are obliged to furnish the latter with all that they want, this applies only to the most necessary articles: for if the usden oppresses his vassal too much he runs the risk of losing him entirely. The princes and the nobles are upon nearly the same footing: what

the former require for their use they demand from the latter, but not more than is absolutely necessary. If we would assign a name to this form of government, we might call it an aristocratic republic; though there is, strictly speaking, no government at all, for each individual acts as he pleases. The authority of the Tscherkessian princes formerly extended over the Ossetes, the Tschetschenzes, the Abasses, and the Tartar tribes in the high mountains at the sources of the Tschegem, the Baksan, the Malka, and the Ckuban; and though they have lost their ancient power by the successive occupations of the Russians, they still consider themselves as the masters of those nations.

Among these people age procures the highest consideration. When therefore any business is to be transacted, the oldest of the princes, usdens, and also of the most opulent boors, assemble and discuss the matter, but always with a great noise and abundance of words. They have neither regular tribunals nor any written laws and statutes. According to ancient custom, certain punishments are attached to theft and murder; concerning which I shall have occasion to speak presently.

It is customary for the prince to make presents now and then to his nobles: these are transmitted from father to son, and the story of the reason and occasion of them is handed down from generation to generation in the family of the giver as well as in that of the receiver. But when a nobleman, without sufficient cause, withdraws his allegiance from his prince, he must return to the latter all the presents that himself or his forefathers have received from him. The usden are bound to attend the prince to war whenever he requires them; and to equip as auxiliaries so many of their vassals as the prince has occasion for, and they are able to furnish. When the prince contracts debts, either through too expensive a way of living or through misfortunes, his nobles are obliged to pay them for him. Both the one and the other possess the power of life and death over their vassals, and may sell any of their menial servants if they please. The latter frequently obtain their liberty; they are then denominated *Bégaulia*, and it is their duty to execute the orders of their master both upon his nobles and his vassals. Such vassals as are engaged in agriculture must not be sold singly. They are obliged to pay the debts of their usden, and to repair all the losses which they may sustain from thieves and robbers. The prince takes the command in war, and with his horsemen and vassals undertakes predatory expeditions into the Russian territory, or against the Ossetes, Ingusches, Karabulaks, and often against the tribes residing in the vicinity of the Ckuban.

Before the introduction of the Mohammedan religion among the Tscherkessians, every prince and his sons had a right to take one sheep from each flock when driven

in spring to pasture on the mountains, and another on its return thence at the beginning of autumn. It was also customary to give the prince a sheep when in his excursions he stopped for the night at a sheep-fold. If he passed a herd of horses (in Tartar *Tabun*) he had a right to select any of them that he pleased, to take him away, and make use of him as long as he had occasion. If he passed the night where such a herd was kept, he might order a foal to be killed as a repast for himself and his retinue; for they still retain the custom of eating horse-flesh, but only when the animals have been killed, and not when they have died of disease. The skin of the horse and the sheep belonged on these occasions to him who prepared the entertainment.

Such were the prerogatives of the princes from the most remote antiquity. Though these privileges were so dear to them, and so well adapted to their way of life, they nevertheless relinquished them on embracing the Mohammedan faith. A considerable change has since taken place in the manners of the people also. Like all uncivilized nations, the Tscherkessians were addicted to the immoderate use of brandy, tobacco and snuff, ate swine's flesh, and particularly that of wild boars, which abound in their country, and are the principal objects of their pursuit in hunting. They have now accustomed themselves to abstain from brandy, as well as tobacco and pork; and many of them suffer the whole beard to grow, instead of confining it as formerly to the point of the chin.

So lately as forty years since the Tscherkessians lived almost without religion, though they called themselves Mosslemin, according to their pronunciation *Bussurman*. They were not circumcised, and had neither messdsheds nor priests, with the exception of a few simple mullas, who came to them from Axai and Endery. They proved themselves Mohammedans by little else than by their abstinence from swine's flesh and wine. They buried their dead indeed after the Mohammedan fashion, and their marriages were performed in the same manner. Polygamy, though allowed, was rare; and the princes and chief usdens, at stated times of the day, repeated their Arabic prayers, of which they understood not one word. The common people, on the other hand, lived without any religious observances, and all days were alike to them. Of Greek christianity, which was propagated in the Kabardah in the time of the Zar Iwan Wassiliewitsch, no traces are left, at least among the people, though ruins of ancient churches and grave-stones with crosses yet exist in the country.

Ever since the peace of Kütschük Kanardshi in 1774 the Porte has endeavoured to spread the religion of Mohammed, by means of ecclesiastical emissaries, in the

Caucasus, and especially among the Tscherkessians; and in regard to the latter at least it has attained its aim; to the accomplishment of which the celebrated Isaak Effendi, who was in the pay of the Turks, principally contributed. Their mullas or priests are in general freedmen of the princes or usden, who go to the Tartars of Thabasseran or to Endery, where they learn to read and write a little, assume the title of Effendi, and return to their native country to instruct the people in the Mohammedan faith, and to detach them more and more from the connexion with Russia. The Kabardians indeed have for these sixty years acknowledged themselves vassals of that empire; but they are so merely in name, as they neither pay any taxes nor are accountable for their conduct in their own country. On the contrary, they make every year frequent incursions into the Russian territory, whence they carry off men and cattle. They were formerly under the jurisdiction of the commandant of Kislar, but now under that of the Kabardinski Pristaw, or Inspector of the Kabardians, an office held at the time of my visit to the Caucasus by Major-general Del Pozzo. It would not be so very difficult a task to keep this nation in order, but the Russian officers commanding on the frontiers seem to care very little about the matter. Upon the whole, a wrong system is now pursued in regard to the mountaineers, namely, that of clemency and humanity, with which the Russian government will assuredly not be able to accomplish its object, since it is considered by them as a sign of weakness and fear. When Paul Sergeitsch Potemkin commanded on the Line, he tried to keep the Kabardian princes within bounds by conferring on them distinctions of rank and presents, and prevailed upon the court of St. Petersburg to place them, their nobles and vassals, upon the same footing as the Russian princes, nobles and boors; which was equally impolitic and useless; for how is it possible to confer on a nation which has for ages lived by plunder, equal rights with those whom it is incessantly plundering? The Tscherkessians, after the manner of the Asiatics, interpreted this equalization as an acknowledgement of their extraordinary superiority; for they imagine that they far surpass the Russians in valour and intelligence. In the time of Lieutenant-general von Gudowitsch, the pensions granted by the crown of Russia to the Tscherkessian princes were augmented; but yet nothing was gained by it, for they still continue their depredations. At present such is the insecurity on the Line, that you can scarcely venture towards evening a few wersts from Georgiewsk without running the risk of being attacked. If on such an occasion you apprehend a robber, he is imprisoned for a few days, and the matter is compromised through the mediation of some wealthy Nogay or Kabardian prince resident in the Russian territory. The culprit is then quietly set at liberty, with the injunction never to show his face again on the Line.

In the time of Count Markow and Prince Zizianow the Kabardians were treated with the greatest rigour, and the pensions assigned to them were withheld. At first they sought indeed to indemnify themselves by incursions into the Russian territories; but, as they could not escape the vigilance of those commanders, were frequently caught in the fact, and without respect of persons tied to a cannon and punished with severe corporal chastisement, their military ardour soon cooled again.

The usual occupations of the higher classes are the chase and military exercises, and they frequently undertake excursions of several days in the woods and mountains, taking with them no other provisions than a small quantity of millet. This kind of life and liberty has such charms for them, that they would not exchange it with any other, but cheerfully make any sacrifices to return to it again, as the following instances evince. Colonel Atashuka Chammursin, who served as a volunteer with the Russians in the last war against the Turks, having fallen under suspicion for various reasons and been sent to Jekaterinoslaw, afterwards returned home, renounced the Russian manners, and resumed in every respect the habits of his countrymen, who deem the military service ignominious, but consider their independent roving life as the highest earthly happiness.—Colonel Issmael Atashuka, who has served in the army, is a Knight of the Order of St. George, and was likewise sent to Jekaterinoslaw, who resided several years at St. Petersburg, who can speak Russian and French, who enjoys a pension of 3000 rubles, and has been loaded with favours by Russia, lives to be sure at Georgiewsk, but keeps his wife at a village in the Kabardah, intrusts his son to the care of an usden there, instead of sending him to Russia where he would certainly receive a much better education, and maintains a secret intelligence with all the leading freebooters among his countrymen.—Lastly, Temir Bulat Atashuka was sent in his earliest youth to St. Petersburg, and educated there in the corps of Mountain-cadets, served in a regiment of dragoons till he attained the rank of captain, and returned to his country without knowing a word of his native language. He has nevertheless forgotten all his acquired habits, lives with the Tscherkessians as a Tscherkess, and never could be prevailed upon to send his two sons to be educated in Russia.

The Kabardian has a haughty and martial air, commonly possesses great physical strength, is tall in stature, and has expressive features. He is a most scrupulous observer of the laws of hospitality; and when he has taken any person under his protection or received him as his guest, the latter may repose implicit confidence in him, and trust his life in his hands: never will he betray or deliver him up to his enemies. Should these prepare to carry him off by force, the wife of the host gives the guest some milk from her own breast to drink, after which he is regarded as her

legitimate son, and his new brethren are bound to defend him against his enemies at the peril of their lives, and to revenge his blood. This revenge of blood, in every respect similar to the practice of the Arabs, is called by the Tscherkessians *Ili'luassa*, or Price of Blood, and by the Tartars *Kangleh*, from *Kan*, blood. It is universal throughout the Caucasus, and is the usual occasion of the feuds of the inhabitants. Their implacable enmity to the Russians partly originates in the same cause; for the revenge of blood is transmitted from father to son, and involves the whole family of him who roused it into action by the first murder.

As no nation carries the pride of birth to such a height as the Tscherkessians, so there are no instances of unequal marriages among them. The prince invariably takes to wife the daughter of a prince; and his illegitimate children can never obtain their father's title and prerogatives, unless they marry a legitimate princess, by which they become princes of the third class. As the Abasses were formerly subject to the Tscherkessians, their princes are considered equal to Kabardian usdens only, and can obtain in marriage females of no higher rank than the daughters of such usdens; while the latter, on the other hand, marry the daughters of Abassian princes.

The price given for a bride (in Tartar *Kalim*) by princes may be valued at about 2000 rubles in silver. The person to whom the education of a young prince is intrusted likewise marries him, and, in association with the other usdens, pays the *kalim* in muskets, sabres, horses, horned cattle, and sheep; and the father of the bride makes an optional present of a few vassals to his new son-in-law.

When a new-married man finds that his bride is not a virgin, he immediately sends her back to her family, and the kalim is returned to him. The woman is either sold or put to death by her relatives. If a wife commits adultery, her husband has her head shaved, slits her ears, cuts off the sleeves of her garments, and sends her home on horseback to her parents, who in this case also either sell or dispatch her. Certain death awaits the adulterer at the hands of the injured husband or his friends.

They have two kinds of divorce. Either the husband parts from his wife in the presence of witnesses, giving up the kalim to her parents, and then she is at liberty to contract a second marriage; or he merely commands her to go from him, in which case he has a right to take her back again at the expiration of a year. Should he not do so in two years, the wife's father or her relations go to him and complete the actual separation, after which she may marry a second husband.

A husband cannot publicly visit his wife in the day-time without being deemed

guilty of a breach of decorum. Common people, however, live together with their wives, especially when they are grown old.

As soon as a prince becomes the father of a child, he celebrates the event with extraordinary festivities. If it be a boy, he consigns him on the third day to the care of one of his usdens, who commonly vie with one another for the honour of bringing him up. A nurse is then provided for the boy; she gives him a name; and it is not till his third or fourth year that he is circumcised, for which operation the mulla is presented with a horse. The father never sees his son till his marriage, and hence results the utmost indifference between the nearest relations. A prince reddens with indignation when he is asked concerning the health of his wife and children, makes no reply, and commonly turns his back on the inquirer in contempt.

The sons of the usdens remain under the paternal roof till they are three or four years old, and are then committed to a preceptor, who needs not be of the same rank. The parents pay him nothing either for his trouble or for the board and clothing of their child. On the other hand, when his ward is grown up, he receives as long as he remains with him the best part of the booty which he makes in predatory excursions or in war.

The Kabardians formerly did not marry till they were thirty or forty years old; but now they enter into the married state between the ages of fifteen and twenty-five, and females between the twelfth and sixteenth year. A girl who continues single beyond the age of seventeen scarcely ever meets with a husband.

The foster-father seeks a wife for his ward; and if the inclinations of the female whom he selects are not pre-engaged, and there is no prior suitor for her hand, he causes her to be carried off by stealth. Should there be two rivals, they either fight themselves for the bride, or their friends fight for them, and strive to kill the opponent. The surviving lover then obtains the lady.

When the father dies, the mother superintends the domestic concerns, and the property continues undivided. At her death the wife of the eldest son generally supplies her place; but if the brothers determine to divide the inheritance, she makes the allotment, taking care to assign the largest portion to the eldest and the least to the youngest brother. Illegitimate children have no claim upon the patrimony, but are commonly supported by the family.

The dead are deposited in graves lined with boards, in such a manner that the face may be turned towards Mecca. In case of death, the women set up a dismal howling, and formerly even the male mourners beat themselves about the head with

horsewhips, to express their grief. Some time ago they used to bury all the effects of the deceased along with him, but now they give him nothing but his usual dress. The Tscherkessians wear black mourning a whole year; but never for those who fall in battle with the Russians, because they believe that the spirits of such persons go straightway into paradise. At funerals the Mulla reads some passages from the Koran, for which he is amply remunerated, and is commonly presented with one of the best horses of the deceased.

According to the present laws of the Tscherkessians, theft, if committed upon a prince, is punished by the forfeiture of nine times the value of what has been stolen, and a slave. Thus the thief who steals a horse is obliged to give nine other horses and a vassal. He who robs an usden must return what he has taken, and forfeits thirty oxen besides. According to the regulations made by Lieutenant-general von Gudowitsch, offences of this kind, committed against the Russians, were to be punished in the same manner; but this law has scarcely ever been enforced.

The Tscherkessian language is totally different from every other, and is spoken in purity in the Great and Little Kabardah, and by the tribe of Beslen on the Laba; while the other Tscherkessian tribes beyond the Ckuban, between that river and the Black Sea, employ dialects deviating more or less from the genuine standard. It contains a great number of hissing and harsh lingua-palatic consonants, which render the pronunciation almost impossible for a foreigner. I took particular pains to collect words and phrases in it, which shall be given at the conclusion of the second volume.

They have no books or manuscripts in their native language; but in writing they commonly employ the Tartar, which is understood all over the Caucasus.

The Tscherkessians upon the whole may be termed a handsome nation; and the men in particular are distinguished by the elegance of their shape, which they use all possible means to preserve and improve. Their stature does not exceed the middle size; but they are extremely muscular, though not corpulent. The shoulders and breast are broad, but the waist is always extremely small. They have in general brown hair and eyes, rather long faces, and thin straight noses. Their women are by far the most beautiful of any in the whole Caucasus; but I should observe that the common notion, that the Turkish seraglios are chiefly supplied with them, is totally unfounded; for the Tscherkessians very rarely sell people of their own country to the Turks, but only captive slaves. Most of the handsome females sent to Turkey come from Imerethi and Mingrelia; on the other hand the slave-trade carried on by the Tscherkessians is almost exclusively confined to the male sex. The young un-

married Tscherkessian females compress their breasts with a close leather jacket, in such a manner that they are scarcely perceptible; and mothers, on the contrary, suffer them to be stretched to such a degree by their infants in suckling, that they soon become pendulous. For the rest, the fair sex among the Tscherkessians is by no means under such restraint as among the other Asiatics.

The dress of the men resembles that of the Kumück Tartars, but it is lighter, made of better materials, and in general richer. The shirt (*Yana*) is either of white linen, or, agreeably to the Georgian fashion, of fine red taffety, and buttons at the bosom. Over this they wear a silk waistcoat, which is generally embroidered, and above that a short jacket (in Tscherkessian *Zièh*, in Tartar *Tschekmen*), which scarcely reaches half way down the back, and buttons very close over the belly. On either side it is provided with a small embroidered pocket, having several divisions for cartridges. The men crop the hair of the head quite short, leaving only a lock of the length of a finger hanging down from the crown, which is called *Haidar*. The Tartars and Kists, on the contrary, shave the whole of the head. The Tscherkessians formerly shaved the beard, leaving mustaches only, but now many suffer the whole to grow. Both sexes remove the hair from the privities, partly by cutting it off, partly by eradicating it, and partly by means of a caustic ointment composed of unslaked lime and orpiment. On the head they wear a small wadded and embroidered cap in the shape of a half melon. Their feet are commonly small; and they appear in neat red boots with very high heels, which makes them appear much taller than they really are.

A Tscherkessian never goes abroad unarmed, at least not without his sabre and a dagger in his girdle, and his coarse felt-cloak (in Tscherkessian *Dshako*, in Tartar *Jamatsche*, in Armenian *Japindshi*,) thrown over his shoulders. When completely equipped he has also, besides a musket and pistols, a coat of mail (*Affch*), a small helmet (*Kip'ha*), or a larger one (*Tasch*), gauntlets (*Aschteld*), and brassets (*Abchumbuch*). When these people ride out in state, or pay visits, they are provided moreover with bow, quiver, and arrows; but they are strangers to the use of the shield. Their coats of mail are in general very costly, and there are said to be some of such excellent quality, that if they are laid upon a calf, and a loaded pistol is discharged at them, the ball produces no other effect than to make the animal stagger a little. Under this cuirass they wear, in war, a wadded coat, which helps by its elasticity to repel bullets the more effectually. Their best armour they procure from the Kubetscha in Daghestan; but it is said to be manufactured of excellent quality in the country of the Abchass, contiguous to the Black Sea. The Cossacks however have

learned the art, even when riding ever so swiftly, of raising the cuirass with the point of the pike, and transfixing the wearer. Their arms in general are of superior quality, but extremely dear; for the value of the whole equipage of a prince is estimated at 2000 rubles in silver. One of their chief employments consists in cleaning their arms, and keeping them in order; and in truth they are always in the brightest and best possible condition. The first thing they do in the morning is to gird on their sabre and poniard, and to see whether the rest of their arms have suffered any injury from the damp night-air. In their excursions their little saddle serves them for a pillow, the piece of felt laid underneath it for a bed, and their felt-cloak for a covering. In bad weather they also construct a small tent with the felt, which is supported by branches of trees. Their other weapons they procure partly from the Turks, and partly from Georgia; but many ancient Venetian and Genoese sabres and pistols, which are very highly prized, are still to be met with among them. Flints are rare, and they now receive most of them from the Russians. Like almost all the Caucasians, they manufacture their gunpowder (*Gin*) themselves. Saltpetre (*Gin-chusch*, or *Gin-schuch*, that is, powder-salt) is said to be found partly in a natural state in the mountains, and they make the rest by the application of ley to the soil of their sheep-folds. There are very few handicraftsmen among them, and of these only smiths, some of whom work in iron, and the others in silver; the former make scarcely any thing else than daggers, sickles, and bits for bridles, and the latter than arms or armour. The wife performs the part of tailor to her family, and the husband makes all the household furniture and utensils, in which there is no metal. For cooking they commonly use large copper pots, and these are brought from Georgia.

Their houses are of the very same construction as those of the Kumücks, being formed of plaited osiers, and plastered both within and without. They differ however from the others, in being covered with straw, because the clay in the country of the Tscherkessians is not sufficiently tenacious. From forty to fifty houses generally form a circle, which is called a village (in Tscherkessian *Kuadshe*, in Tartar *Kaback*), into the area of which the cattle are driven at night, and where the defenceless people are secured in case of attack. Without the circle, at the distance of about twenty paces, are erected huts, which serve for privies. The hedges are formed, like the houses, of plaited oziers. In winter sheds are run up near the rivers and meadow-grounds; these are called *Chuter*, or *Kutan*, and are used as sheep-folds. The utmost cleanliness prevails in all their buildings, as well as in their dress and cookery.

To the domestic animals of the Tscherkessians belong horses, horned cattle, buffaloes, sheep, goats, dogs, and cats. Their horses are always turned out loose into the fields, and never kept in stables. They sell them to the Russians and Georgians. These animals are of the middle size, and in general of a chesnut or bay colour; I have never seen any black ones among them. The best breed are called *Schaloch*, and have a particular mark burned upon the hinder leg. The horses of this breed are in general bay, and a few white. They are constantly out at grass in the hot months towards the mountains between the rivers Feag, Arredon, and Ursdon, (in Tscherkessian *Pse-chusch*,) and during the rest of the year in the country bordering on the Terek between Tartartup and Dshulat. A foal of this breed is deemed equal in value to a slave; but if one of them is stolen, the thief is liable to no greater penalty than for any other article belonging to the prince, that is, nine times its value, and one slave. For the rest, very fine horses are not so common among the Tscherkessians as is generally supposed: for superior animals you must frequently pay so much as 100 rubles in silver, but ordinary ones may be purchased at from 15 to 25 rubles.

The herds of the Tscherkessians are not numerous, and they usually keep no more cattle than are necessary for the supply of their own wants. They employ oxen for wheel-carriages and for the plough; the milk of the cows they commonly eat curded, and also make from it indifferent cheese and butter, which is always used melted, and without salt. They very seldom kill any of their oxen, and sell but very few of them to the people of Mosdok. Buffaloes are very rarely met with, and sell at the rate of from 12 to 18 rubles; yet a buffalo will do more work than two oxen, and the milk of the females yields a much larger quantity of butter than that of cows. Sheep constitute almost the whole wealth of the Tscherkessians, and are the most important branch of their œconomy. The flesh of these animals is their usual food, and they eat it boiled without salt or bread. With the wool the women manufacture the coarse cloth for the dress of the men, likewise felt-coverings (in Russian *Woilok*) and felt-cloaks (in Tscherkessian *Dshako*, in Russian *Burka*), and with the skins they make furs. They barter sheep and their skins, wool and cloth, with the Russians and Georgians, for salt, linen, Russia hides, sulphur, iron, copper utensils, cottons, and silks. The Tscherkessian sheep are much smaller than the Calmuck, and their skins are not so fine by a great deal. The tail also is far inferior in size, and seldom weighs more than four pounds. They have frequently four and six horns. Their flesh is better flavoured than our mutton, and it is scarcely possible to be tired of it. The usual price of a sheep is six arschines

of coarse linen, which cost about eight copecks. The ewes are also milked, and from their milk is made cheese, part of which being sewed up in linen, and smoked, is thus rendered harder, and may be kept longer. In summer they drive the sheep into the mountains to the Ossetes and Dugores; in January and February they are kept in *chuters*, and fed with hay; and during the rest of the year they graze in the plain and on the low ranges of hills. Goats are not frequently met with; these animals are generally brown, and are kept at the villages. The Tscherkessians likewise keep dogs and cats in their houses, and they have a very fine breed of greyhounds. In the forests of the Kabardah wild cats are not uncommon. As Mohammedans, they breed no swine. Stags, (but neither fallow-deer nor elks,) roebucks, wild hogs, and hares are in great abundance.

The system of agriculture pursued by the Tscherkessians is very simple, for they never manure. In spring they burn away all the herbage from the land which they mean to sow, as well as from all the rest, whether it be designed for meadow or pasturage: this is the only manure that it receives. The ground is then once ploughed, after which the seed is harrowed in with trees stripped of their foliage. They sow the same land two or three successive years, and when it is impoverished they break up a fresh piece. When they have in this manner exhausted the soil to the distance of some wersts round the village, they remove with all their effects to a fresh spot. They raise nothing but millet and a small quantity of barley. With the millet they feed their horses in cases of necessity; it also serves them for bread, and they make with it a kind of half-fermented beverage, called by them *Fada*, or *Fadachucsh*, that is, white fada, but in Tartar *Braga*, and likewise brandy, which they denominate *Arka* or *Fadafitza*, signifying black fada. Mead is termed *Fada plisch*, or red fada. Braga is very common, but brandy is now rare. They have no fermented bread; instead of it they eat millet in the bran, boiled in water, and then cut in thick slices: this is called *Pasta*. *Hatlama* is the same thing, only made of millet separated from the bran. It is very seldom indeed that the millet is actually ground, made into unleavened dough, and baked in cakes of the thickness of a finger, which are named *Medshaga*. Such are the three ways in which they prepare millet; and of these the first is the most common, because they have no water-mills. They separate the millet from the bran by means of oak-blocks cut into the form of mill-stones, which are worked by hand, after the grain has been bruised a little by a stamper, which is raised with the foot. It is finally ground by means of hand-mills with small stones, which however are to be met with in but very few houses. They grow no more millet than just what they want, yet they sometimes

exchange it with the Russians and Georgians for twice the quantity of salt, though that article is scarcely ever used by the common people. They dip their meat, as they eat it, into sour milk instead of salt. Millet, milk, cheese, and mutton constitute their principal diet, and their beverage is water and *Braga*. For seasoning they use Turkey pepper (*Capsicum*), onions, and garlic. They are likewise fond of hard-boiled eggs, especially in a dish that is called *Chinkal*. This is composed of sour milk with a little butter, new cheese, lumps of barley-meal dough boiled in water, resembling our dumplings, hard eggs cut into four pieces, onions, and garlic. This is provided for all great entertainments, and is a very favourite dish. *Schiraldama* is the name given to flat cakes of wheat-flour mixed up with eggs and milk, and fried in butter. Small tarts of the same kind of dough, filled with new cheese and onions, are called *Haliva*. These are both eaten with honey, and are far from tasting amiss. They employ honey in various ways. When mixed with butter it is called *Fau'tgo*, and meat is dipped in it. *Fau'us* is water sweetened with honey, which serves for drink. Upon the whole, the rearing of bees forms an important branch of the œconomy of the Tscherkessians. The bee-hives are made of osier-twigs, and externally plastered with a mixture of cow-dung and clay. They are of an oval form, about 18 inches high, and at the base not above a foot in diameter. The bottom is not joined to the hive, but consists of a board, upon which the hive is placed; so that it may be raised to remove dead bees and impurities, and to cut out the honey-combs, which are constructed obliquely by the bees. In the interior two small sticks are placed across, to assist them in the construction of the combs for the wax. About an inch and a half above the lower edge is a small circular hole, not much more than large enough to admit a bee. On the top of the hive are laid wisps of straw, to protect it from the rain. In every hive are from eight to ten cakes of wax, which stand in a vertical position. In winter, such of these hives as are intended for breeding the following year are placed under cover. For this purpose the strongest and healthiest are selected, and they are not deprived of any portion either of the wax or honey. These swarm about the end of March or the beginning of April, and the produce of one hive is divided among two or three. A conical hat is formed of the bark of trees, and fastened to the end of a pole about eight yards long, and into this the young swarm is enticed by the continual rattling of small pieces of wood at the extremity of the pole. The queen is then sought for, and put into a piece of reed a span long, that is laid in the middle of the new hive into which the young swarm is admitted. When there is a superabundance of queens, some of them are killed. The Tscherkessians style the queen-

bee *Pshech*, that is, the prince. Till Midsummer the hives are kept at the villages; but in July and August, when the plants in the steppes are withered, they are carried into the woods on the lower ranges of hills. They are conveyed thither, and also brought back in autumn, in *arbas*, clumsy two-wheeled carriages drawn by oxen. The hives from which the honey and wax are intended to be taken are placed over lighted stubble, by which means the bees are suffocated. The honey-combs are removed, and set over the fire in a pot; the melted honey settles to the bottom, and the wax hardens on the top. A hive is usually sold entire for two or three shirts. Many keepers of bees possess no fewer than 300 hives. Their honey is of a light yellow colour, and excellent flavour.

The Tscherkessians, as I have already observed, formerly went in numerous caravans to the lakes situated between Kislar and Astrachan, on the road to the latter, to fetch salt, of which they took as much as they pleased for nothing; but since the establishment of the Line this practice has been prohibited, so that they are now obliged to give the Russians cattle, cloth, and other indigenous productions in exchange for it. By them chiefly the Ossetes and Dugores are supplied with salt. To a great salt-arba they commonly harness six or eight oxen. They frequently give their horned cattle, horses, and in particular sheep, some salt to lick, and on that account their consumption of this article is very considerable.

Brug is an Indian beverage but little known among the Tscherkessians, and made in the following manner: They take the hemp-plant in seed, and, when dried and reduced to powder, they suspend it in a small bag in a vessel full of water, which extracts the strength. This water is sweetened with honey, and produces intoxication. *Tuschag-tgo* is another beverage made of water, in which grape-juice boiled and concreted to the hardness of stone, and called *Tuschag*, has been dissolved. This drink is much less common among the Tscherkessians than it is in Persia.

The Tscherkessians generally sit cross-legged on the bare ground. The men always travel on horseback, but the women in arbas (in Tscherkessian *Gkuh*) drawn by oxen. Their meals are served up on small tables, which are scarcely a foot in height, about 18 inches square, and have three legs. Flesh-meat, cheese, and *pasta* cut in pieces, are laid upon the table. Plates, knives, and spoons are never used by them.

The Tscherkessians, though they have a great dislike to labour, are nevertheless lively and officious, but at the same time selfish and crafty, and deceitful in their dealings. They are principally engaged in war, hunting, and plunder; and such persons as distinguish themselves most in these occupations possess the greatest

influence. In their predatory expeditions they use secret languages, founded on a pre-concerted arrangement. The two most commonly used are termed *Schakobsché*, and not as Reineggs writes it *Sikowschir*, and *Farschipsé*. The first of these seems to be a totally distinct language, as it bears no resemblance to the ordinary Tscherkessian. I was not able to procure any specimens of it. I shall therefore subjoin only the words furnished by Reineggs, with the Tscherkessian synonyms.

Schakobsche.	*Tscherkessian.*	*English.*
Paphle	Nne	Eye
Baetāŏ	Takhumah	Ear
Kaepe	Tschĕ	Horse
Ptschakokaff	Gjem	Cow
Tkemeschae	Bshan	Goat
Naeghune	Mapha	Fire
Uppe	Fiss	Woman
Paschae	Achsche	Money
Schuwghae	Dshako	Felt-cloak
Brugg	Schah	Head
Wup	Topang	Gun
Ptschakoaentsche	Machsche	Camel
Fogabbe	Mall	Sheep
Scheghs	Psé	Water
Aelewsae	Tschallah	Child
Naekuschae	Schakua	Bread

The Farschipsé language is formed from the ordinary Tscherkessian, by the introduction of *ri* or *fé* between each syllable.

Tscherkessian.	*Farschipsé.*	*English.*
Schah	Irisch'chari	Head
Tdl'e	Tl'arukquari	Foot
Iá	Iriari	Hand
Takhumah	Tarimariquari	Ear
Nne	Irinneri	Eye
Pĕh	Iripĕhri	Nose
Dshe	Iridsheri	Mouth
Bbse	Iribbserigueri	Tongue
Dshake	Dsharikeri	Beard

The week, as well as Sunday, which begins it with the Tscherkessians, is styled by them *T'ha machua*. The names of the days of the week are as follow:

Sunday	T'ha machua
Monday	Blischha
Tuesday	Gubsh
Wednesday	Bereshia
Thursday	Machuk
Friday	Meirem
Saturday	Schabat

To the months they give the same appellations as the Tartars. The following are common names of men, with their significations:

Chubdschuqua—Son of the sickle.
Bairam-aloe—Son of the feast of Bairam. (This is of Tartar origin).
Inal—a very common name of princes.
Meirem-kül—Son of Friday (Tartar).
Baitan, Papai, Mahomet, Gilachsan, Botuqua.
Dezletuqua—Son of riches.
Kandshaua—Son of blood. (Tartar, with a Tscherkessian termination).
Missost—Moses.
Arslan-beg—Lion-prince (Tartar).
Schachmürsch—Cow's lowing.
Petak—Branch.
Temür—Iron (Tartar).
Ssassaruqua—Son of the feast of Ssassa.
Chammursa—Prince of dogs.
Temüruqua—Son of iron (half Tartar).
Goinuqua—Son of hides, skins.
Keltschuqua—Son of wool.
Koituqua—Reclaimed son.
Meiremaqua—Son of Friday.
Kelemet, Dudaruqua, Botasch, Hassane.
Dol—Slave.
Bahatyr—Giant. (Of Tartar derivation).
Thahaschine—Lamb of God.
Hadiuqua—Little dog without tail.

Machara, Bürau.
Tamassa—Thomas.
Tha-gelek—Fear of God.
Togdschuqua—Son of a fat man.
Nedscha—How much?
Dshaumaqua, Dshabirei, Schauloch-Taussulthan.
Tewadschuqua—Son of progress.
Chod, Hüssein
Hadzug—Puppy.
Kasbulat—Goose-stealing (Tartar).
Tschechi, Chetek.
Uressai—Fast-month.
Taustanim, Kandu, Issmail.
Koschbasch—Double-head (Tartar).
Ssagastoqua—Son of the feast of Ssaga.
Manedshuqua, Tambie, Ansor, Chemnesch, Terol.
Babadschipa—Duck's-bill.
Dshantemir—Iron-soul (Tartar).
Tschabas-girei—Tschabas is Arabic, and signifies a falcon.

I have noted but few names of women, which are mostly Arabic.

Kensha-chan, Dewlet-chan, Dshennet, that is, Happiness (Arabic):—*Tepsike, Fatema, Kistaman, Goschop ho churaja*, that is, Roundness of a princess's daughter.

I shall conclude this subject with a list of the appellations given by the Tscherkessians to their neighbours:

Tartars	Nogay
Armenians	Ermĕlleh
The Krym	Gerim
Persians	Chadshar
Russians	Uruss
Lesgians	Hhanniösch, or Hhannoátsche
Ossetes	Kusch'ha. They are thus named because they inhabit the highest *comb-shaped* mountains, which are also called Kusch'ha by the Tscherkessians.

Dugores	Digor Kusch'ha
Tagaurian Ossetes . .	Tegeï Kusch'ha
Karatschai	Karschaga
Tartars on the Tschegem—	Tschegem Kusch'ha
Tartars on the Malka .	Balkar Kusch'ha
Georgians	Kurshé
Jews	Dshut. The usden family of Kudenet is reported to be of Jewish origin.

CHAPTER XXVII.

GEORGE INTERIANO'S ACCOUNT OF THE TSCHERKESSIANS—THEY ARE CALLED ZYCHI BY THE GREEKS—SITUATION OF THEIR COUNTRY—CHRISTIANITY—DIFFERENT CLASSES AMONG THEM—MANNERS AND CUSTOMS—MANY TSCHERKESSIANS SOLD AS SLAVES ARE CARRIED TO EGYPT—DRESS—CUSTOMS IN WAR—GENEROSITY AND HOSPITALITY—WARS WITH THE TARTARS—THEIR PERSONAL BEAUTY—THEIR HABITATIONS AND SETTLEMENTS—BURIALS—EXTRAORDINARY CEREMONIES ON THOSE OCCASIONS.

THE people called in the Italian, Greek and Latin languages Zychi, by the Tartars and Turks Tscherkessians, and in their own tongue Adiga, inhabit the whole sea-coast above Lasia, from the river Tanais, or Don, to the Cimmerian Bosphorus, which is at the present day denominated Vospero, or Bocca (Mouth) of St. John, Mouth of the Sea of Tschaabathi, or of the Sea of Tana, and in ancient times bore the name of Palus Mæotis; and further, beyond the Mouth, along the sea-coast, to Cape Bussi, towards the river Phasis; and here they border on Avogasia, a district of Colchis. The whole extent of coast possessed by them within and without the Palus may be about 500 miles. Their territory runs about eight days journey inland to the east, in which direction it is the broadest. They live in villages scattered over the face of the whole country, without any city or walled town. Their largest and best settlement is a small valley, situated in the centre of the district called Cromuk, which is more populous than any other part. On the land-side they border on the Scythians or Tartars. Their language is totally different from that of the neighbouring nations, and the pronunciation very guttural. They profess the Christian religion, and have Greek priests. They are not baptized till they are eight years old or more, and the ceremony consists in a mere sprinkling with consecrated water, and a short benediction from the officiating ecclesiastic. The nobles never enter the church before they have attained the age of sixty years; for, as they live by plunder, they have a notion that their presence would profane the sacred edifice. When they are about the age above mentioned, they desist from robbing, and go to divine service, which as boys they attend without the church-doors, but no otherwise than on horseback. Their women are delivered upon straw, which, they say, ought to be the first bed of man. They then

carry the children to the river, and there wash them, in spite of the ice and cold which are peculiar to those regions. They give to the child the name of the first stranger who enters the house after its birth; and let the name be Greek, or Latin, or of whatever foreign country it may, they always add to it the termination *uk:* thus Peter is transformed into Petruk, Paul into Pauluk, &c. They make use of no letters, either native or foreign. Their priests perform divine worship, in their way, in the Greek language, without understanding it. When they send a letter to any person, which they very rarely do, they have it written in general by Jews, in Hebrew characters; but it is much more usual to send verbal messages to one another.

Among these people there are nobles and vassals, and servants or slaves. The nobles are highly honoured, and spend most of their time on horseback. They do not suffer their inferiors to keep horses; and if one of their vassals rears a foal, they take it from him when it is grown up, and give him oxen instead; saying, "These are fit for you, but not a horse." Many of the nobles are lords of vassals, and they acknowledge no other superior than God. They have no officers for the administration of justice, nor any written laws. Their disputes are terminated by force, sagacity, or mediation. Among the nobles it is customary for one relation, one brother, to kill another; in the latter case the murderer sleeps the next night with his sister-in-law, the wife of the deceased; for it is allowed among them to have several wives, all of whom are considered as lawful.

When the son of a nobleman is two or three years old, he is committed to the care of a vassal, who takes him out a-riding with him every day, puts a bow into his hand, and teaches him to shoot with it at the first fowl, pig, or other bird or beast, that falls in his way. When the boy is grown bigger he goes by himself in pursuit of these animals in their villages, and no vassal dares oppose him. On arriving at manhood, they are continually engaged in carrying off wild and tame animals, and even men.

Their country is for the greatest part swampy, covered with reeds and rushes, from the roots of which is obtained the calmus. These morasses are occasioned by the great rivers Tanais, which yet bears that name, the Rhombite, likewise called Copro, and several other large and small streams, that have several mouths, and, as has just been observed, form almost boundless swamps, through which many fords and passages have been made. By these secret ways they clandestinely proceed to attack the poor peasants, whom they carry off with their cattle and children from one country to another, and sell or barter them away.

As there is no current coin in their country, they make all their contracts by Boccassines, or pieces of linen, sized and calendered, each of which is sufficient for a shirt; and thus in all their bargains they calculate the value of their commodities by Boccassines. The greatest part of the slaves sold by them are carried to Cairo in Egypt; and there fortune elevates them from the lowest rank to the highest honours and dignities, as to the rank of Sultan, Admiral, &c.

Their upper garment is of felt, and made like an ecclesiastical habit (*peviale di chiesa*), and they wear it open on one side to leave the right arm at liberty. On their heads they wear a cap, likewise of felt, in the form of a sugar-loaf. Under the mantle above mentioned they wear terliks (*terlicci*), as they are called, of silk or linen, which are folded and plaited from the waist downward, almost like the skirts of the ancient Roman military toga. They wear boots and buskins, which are drawn the one over the other and are very neat, and wide linen trowsers. They have very long mustaches, and never stir without fire-arms by their side in a case of smooth leather, which is made and worked by their wives. They carry about them razors and a stone to sharpen them upon, and with these they shave one another's heads, leaving only a long plaited lock of hair upon the crown. Some assert that this is done in order to allow a firm hold to be taken of the head if it should be cut off, that the face may not be soiled and stained by the dirty and bloody hands of the murderer. They also shave the hair from the breast when they go to battle, as they consider it a disgrace for hair to be seen upon that part when they are dead. They set fire with lighted matches to the houses of their enemies, which are all of straw. They have in their houses, that is to say, the principal people, large gold bowls of the weight of from 300 to 500 ducats, and also silver ones, and drink out of them with great ceremony, of which indeed they are more profuse in drinking than on any other occasions; for they always drink either in the name of God, or of the saints, or of their deceased relatives and friends, at the same time relating the most remarkable actions or circumstances of their lives, bare-headed and with all possible demonstrations of veneration and respect.

When they retire to rest, they lay their armour, a cuirass composed of iron plates, under their heads by way of a pillow, and place their arms beside them; and the moment they rise they put on their cuirass, and resume their weapons. Husband and wife lie in bed with their heads to each other's feet; and their beds are of leather, filled with calmus flowers or rushes.

They have a notion that no man is of noble blood whose family is ever known to have been ignoble, even though it may have given birth to several kings. They

insist that a nobleman ought to have nothing to do with trade or accounts, except to dispose of his booty; and maintain that the only employments befitting the nobility are the government and protection of the people, hunting, and military exercises. They are great admirers of generosity, and cheerfully give away any thing they possess except their horses and their arms. In respect to their apparel, they are not only liberal, but profuse; and hence they in general cut a worse figure in this particular than their vassals. Whenever they put on new clothes, or shirts of crimson silk, which are commonly worn by them, their vassals immediately beg them as a present; and it would be deemed a great disgrace if they denied or seemed unwilling to comply with such a request. If therefore any person solicits the gift of the clothes upon their backs, they immediately pull them off, and change them for the habiliments of the meanest applicant, be they ever so squalid. Thus the nobles are almost always worse equipped than the common people, except in regard to boots, arms, and horses, which they never part with, and in which their chief pride consists. They often give all their moveable property for a horse to which they take a fancy, and there is nothing in the world which they prize so highly as an excellent horse. When they get possession of gold or silver, either by robbery or in any other manner, they spend it immediately in the purchase of the above-mentioned bowls, or harness, or military equipments. At home the habits of these people, especially of those in the middle of the country, are not expensive; for such as reside near the sea are more corrupted by traffic.

They have daily engagements with the Tartars, by whom they are on almost all sides surrounded. They also cross the Bosphorus to the Taurian peninsula, in which country is situated Kafa, a colony established at a remote period by the Genoese; and they pass the streight in winter, when the sea is frozen, to carry off the Scythian inhabitants. A small number of them will put a large body of the latter to flight, because they are much more active, better armed and mounted, and show greater courage. The helmets which they wear are peculiar to the Pontus; they resemble those represented on the monuments of antiquity, and have thongs which go over the cheeks and are fastened under the chin, after the manner of the ancients. The Tartars, on the contrary, are more inured to all kinds of hardship, and that to a surprising degree, which often ensures them the victory; for if they can but retreat into a distant swamp, or into snow, ice, or places destitute of every thing, they mostly conquer by their perseverance and obstinacy.

The Zychi are in general well shaped and handsome, and among the Mamelukes and admirals at Cairo (who, as has been already observed, chiefly belong to this

nation) are to be found figures of uncommon symmetry. The same remark applies also to the women, who, even in their own country, are very familiar with strangers. They fulfil the duties of hospitality with the most scrupulous attention, and both the host and his guest style one another *conacco*, which is synonymous with *hospes* in Latin. On the departure of the latter, his host escorts him to another lodging, protects him, and if necessary risks his own life in defence of his guest. Though, as it has been observed, robbery is so general in this country that it may be considered as a regular profession, they nevertheless manifest the utmost fidelity to their conacci or guests, and lavish on them the fondest caresses, both at home and abroad. Parents allow them, even in their presence, to take every possible liberty with the persons of their unmarried daughters, from head to foot, excepting only that of sleeping with them; and when the stranger lies down to rest, or when he wakes, these girls will fondly go and pick off him the vermin, which are quite peculiar and natural to this country. These females publicly bathe naked in the rivers, and you may then feast your eyes on an infinite number of the fairest and most elegant figures.

They chiefly subsist on the species of fish still called Anticei, as it was named by Strabo of old; it is properly a kind of sturgeon, thicker and shorter than the common sort. They drink the water of their rivers, which tends to promote digestion. They eat also the flesh of all kinds of tame and wild animals. They have no wheat or grapes, but great quantities of millet and such-like grain, of which they make bread and other sorts of provision, as well as a beverage named *boza*. They likewise drink mead.

Their houses are all of straw, reeds, or wood; and it would be deemed a great disgrace to a prince or nobleman, if he were to build a fortress or a habitation with solid walls; such a person would be stigmatized as a coward, and as incapable of defending himself. For this reason they all live in the above-mentioned houses, and in villages: throughout the whole country there is not a single fortified place; but as some ancient towers and walls yet exist in it, they are used by the country-people for some purpose or other, for the nobles would be ashamed to occupy them. Their arrows they make themselves, and work at them even on horseback; they are of peculiar excellence, pointed with iron of admirable workmanship and temper, so that there are few which equal them in execution. The wives of the nobles are engaged in embroidery; and they also make leather cases for fire-arms, as mentioned above, and girdles of the same material, which are polished to an extraordinary degree.

Their funeral ceremonies are extremely singular. On the death of a nobleman, they set up a high wooden bed in the open air, upon which they place the body of the deceased in a sitting attitude, after the bowels have been taken out. Here during eight successive days he is visited by his relatives, friends, and vassals, who make him presents of silver goblets, bows, arrows, and other things. On either side of the bed stand the two relations who are next to him in age, resting with one hand on a stick; and on the left side of the bed stands an unmarried female, with an arrow in her hand, at the end of which is fastened a silk handkerchief, to drive away the flies, be the weather ever so cold, which it generally is there all the year round. At the head of the deceased is seated the first of his wives, who keeps her eyes steadfastly fixed on her late husband, but without weeping; which would be deemed indecorous. This is done the greatest part of the day during the whole eight days, after which he is buried in the following manner. They take a very thick tree, and from the largest part of the trunk they saw a piece of sufficient length, and split it in two pieces; these they hollow out till the cavity is capable of holding the body and part of the above-mentioned presents. They then lay the corpse in the hollow, and in this rude coffin it is deposited in the place fixed for the interment, where a great number of people assemble, and throw up a barrow over him; and the greater his consequence, and the more friends and dependents he had, the larger and higher they make the hill. After the nearest relations have collected all the presents, and defrayed the expenses of the guests, they bury with the body a greater or less proportion of the articles that have been presented, according to the degree in which the deceased was beloved and respected*. For several days after the funeral they bring out at meal-times the best horse of the deceased, and send a servant with it to the grave. The man calls his late master thrice by his name, and invites him on behalf of his relatives and friends to the repast. As he of course receives no reply, he turns back with the horse, and informs the family that he can get no answer. They now think that they have done their duty, and fall to without further ceremony.

* M. von Klaproth has given, on the authority of Interiano, from whom he has borrowed this whole chapter, the details of another custom said by the Italian writer to have been practised by these people at funerals: but they were deemed too offensive to modesty to be admitted into the translation. T.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE AUTHOR'S DEPARTURE FROM MOSDOK—PASSAGE OF THE TEREK—HILLS OF ARACK—ACHLAU CKABACK—GRIGORIPOL, A FORTRESS ON THE RIVER KUMBALEI—SCHALCHA, A COLONY OF THE INGUSCHES ON THE KUMBALEI—SETTLEMENTS OF THE INGUSCHES—THEIR SIMPLE WATER-MILLS—WAY OF LIFE AND MANNERS—THE GREAT OR OLD INGUSCHES—NARROW PASS—ROAD TO THE UPPER TEREK—GALGA, THE ORIGINAL ABODE OF THE INGUSCHES—SACRED ROCK ON THE RIVER ASSAI—ROAD TO THE INGUSCHES IN THE VALLEY OF SCHALCHA—CAVERN WITH AN IRON CROSS—BEAUTY OF THE VALLEY—THEIR AGRICULTURE AND DOMESTIC ŒCONOMY—MANNERS—THEIR INTREPIDITY, TEMPERANCE, OATHS—MARRIAGES AFTER DEATH—THE FAIR SEX, AND THEIR DRESS—DANCES OF THE INGUSCHES—THEIR AVERSION TO FOREIGN RELIGIONS—RELIGIOUS CEREMONIES PERFORMED AT AN ANCIENT CHURCH ON THE UPPER ASSAI—DESCRIPTION OF THE EDIFICE—HIGH-PRIESTS OF THE INGUSCHES—MANNERS OF THE GREAT INGUSCHES—NAMES GIVEN BY THE INGUSCHES TO THEMSELVES AND THEIR NEIGHBOURS—THEIR SEVEN TRIBES.

About nine in the morning of Sunday the 22d of December we at length left Mosdok with an escort of fifty Don Cossacks. We were ferried over the Terek on two hollowed trees or *kajuks*, as they are called, which are held together by wicker-work of plaited osiers laid upon them, and rowed across. A float so loosely joined is liable to frequent accidents; and in such cases the baggage with which it is loaded is usually lost, though the men and horses may perhaps save their lives by swimming. In July and August, when the water is deep, the ferry-boat is obliged to make frequent tacks in going and returning; and as no more than three horses can in general be transported at once, the passage of the Terek necessarily takes up a considerable time. We had to wait long on the left bank of the river till our whole party and baggage had crossed. On this side is a small redoubt, which mounts four guns, to protect the communication.

At length we started again about four o'clock, and ascended the acclivity of the steppe, which in this place is elevated about sixty feet above the river. The road at first led through woods; but when these were passed, the beautiful and fertile plain of the Little Kabardah opened upon us. After travelling about twenty wersts, we

came to the hills of Arack, which are covered with wood; sand, clay and marle make their appearance upon these hills, which have a gentle declivity toward the north. About a (German) mile further we reached the village of Achlau-Ckaback, or Gilachstanich, which was formerly the capital and residence of the Gilachstan princes of the Little Kabardah, but is now depopulated by the plague. It is situated at the northern foot of a second range of hills, which exactly resembles the preceding, in a fertile tract watered by the three small rivulets called Psedache. About a werst on our left lay the Tscherkessian village of Kurgokqua, the dogs of which attacked us, and struck no small terror into our Cossacks, who begged us to be as quiet and ride as softly as possible. On the southern declivity of the second range of the Arack lay the now deserted redoubt of Grigoripol, and on the left of it is a rivulet without a name. At midnight, heartily tired and very thirsty, for we had met with no fresh water by the way, we arrived at the fortress of Grigoripol, frequently also called Kumbalei from the river on the left bank of which it is situated. In crossing that stream in the dark, both ourselves and our baggage got extremely wet.

The distance from Mosdok to Grigoripol is accounted sixty wersts; and in truth it is not a very agreeable excursion to perform in the middle of December, partly at night, over the steppe covered with hoar-frost, and besides at a foot-pace. We had consoled ourselves with the idea of resting and warming ourselves at least till the next morning at Grigoripol, but were grievously disappointed; for on account of the lateness of the hour we were not admitted into the fortress, and were obliged to pass the night in the open air. Hungry, thirsty, and benumbed with cold, we had no other resource than to refresh ourselves with tea, biscuit, and French brandy; and then, covered with our excellent Lesgian felt-cloaks, to lie down to sleep on the frozen ground. The night was rough and windy, but yet we found ourselves next morning much more recruited than we could have expected.

The fortress, which I afterwards visited, is well built, garrisoned by Jägers and Don Cossacks, and mounts twelve guns; its only inhabitants are the garrison and a few suttlers, almost all of whom live in semliankas, or subterraneous huts, with roofs projecting above ground, in which are small windows for the admission of light. These habitations are extremely damp and unwholesome; and both clothes and provisions soon spoil in them. It would be easy, when the waters are high, to float timber-trees from the upper regions of the Kumbalei down that river to Grigoripol, and to employ them in the erection of regular houses, but for the obstacles opposed to such an attempt by the Ingusches. The Kumbalei, as it is called by the

Tscherkessians, is named Galun by the Kistian tribes, and rises in the Slate-mountains about three (German) miles to the east of Stephan Tzminda, or Ckasbeck, on the Upper Terek, and runs through the valley inhabited by the Great Ingusches, or, as the Russians style them, *Starye Inguschi*, that is, Old Ingusches. The range of hills which borders it is elevated and woody; it first runs northward, and then takes a north-west direction, through a plain of forty wersts, till it comes to the second range of the Arack in the Little Kabardah; past the foot of which it pursues nearly a west course till it empties itself, about four wersts above Tartartup, into the right side of the Terek. Its bed is level and stony; the current when low is not very rapid, so that in many places it may be forded on horseback; but, like all the rivers in the plain, it has little wood, and in some parts none at all, as that is frequently destroyed by the alterations of its course.

About forty years since, a colony of Ingusches, called Schalcha, settled at the foot of the hills on the Kumbalei. Their increased population, in valleys of no great fertility, compelled them to remove to the plain. The extensive plain of the Kabardah would long have been inhabited and cultivated in a similar manner by the Ossetes, had not the rapacity and cruelty of the Kabardians detained the mountaineers in their rugged dales, lest they should be sold as slaves, or given by those people as vassals to their boors. Perhaps also they might have spread as far as the Kabardah, had not inaccessible rocks and a love of independence kept them dispersed in smaller communities, and weakened them in proportion. The colony of Schalcha, which on account of its valour and numbers was capable of making a more effectual stand, repeatedly threw off the yoke which the Kabardians attempted to impose, and resolutely defended themselves against those oppressors.

On the left bank of the Kumbalei, just at the foot of the hills, reside about two hundred families, who are sufficiently protected on the side next to the river by an abrupt precipice. The other villages are situated in the plain, on the right side, near small brooks, on which almost every family has its water-mill, the construction of which is extremely simple. I know not if any other people have accomplished their object with worse materials, and with fewer circumstances, so effectually as to be able to carry their mills home with them, and to put them up again every time they are used. A small mill-stone is turned round rapidly by the axle of the little horizontal wheel, against which the water is discharged in a very obtuse angle from a hollow tree or gutter. The funnel-shaped hopper of birch bark is suspended by four cords, and is shaken when needful by a stick which is fastened to it and touches the stone. A sharp-pointed stone, moving in the cavity of another, serves instead

of an iron pintle to the axle-tree, and the mill-stone is raised or lowered by means of a forked stake and a stone placed underneath it. The whole machine is constructed without iron; the mills are attended by the women, who have likewise to perform all the labours both of the field and house, and to make clothes besides for themselves and their families.

These people may be termed wealthy in comparison of other mountaineers; for they have abundance of cattle and bread-corn, and yet live very moderately. For every repast they bake small cakes of flour, oat- or barley-meal. The dough is formed into the requisite shape, laid upon a round stone, and, when it is half baked, covered with hot ashes till it is done. It is slack-baked and heavy, but easily digested by the moderate stomachs of the Ingusches. They also brew, like the Ossetes, an excellent kind of beer, resembling porter, for extraordinary occasions. They dress in the same fashion as the other Caucasians, but their apparel and arms are of better quality. They alone among all their neighbours have retained the use of the shield. These shields are of wood, covered with leather, and strengthened with oval iron bands. Their short knotty spear is not only used for defence, but when the point is thrust into the ground the forks serve as a support for the gun, and thus enable them to take a surer aim. They fight most commonly on horseback, contrary to the practice of the mountaineers, and employ the shield with admirable dexterity. A contumelious epithet is considered by them as the greatest insult, and is often expiated with life itself. In their rencounters you would expect most of them to be dangerously wounded at least; but they parry the strokes of sabres with such address, that very few receive the slightest injury. On the most trivial occasions they seize the sabre; but have recourse to fire-arms only in cases of the utmost necessity, as to revenge blood or to repel enemies. The social connexion is kept up among the people by the elders, who are distinguished by their wealth or the consequence of their families; but they possess greater influence over the lower classes in the plain than in the mountains, where the universal indigence places all ranks more nearly upon a level.

The habitations of the Ingusches in the plain are miserable wooden huts, which they forsake when attacked, because they are without towers. They maintain the closest family connexion with those in the mountains, and are the more solicitous to be upon friendly terms with them, that they may obtain an asylum among them in case of necessity. When they remove to the plain, they let the lands and houses which they leave behind in the mountains to their relatives, or give them in fee to poorer persons, who thus become their vassals.

The road to the valley of the Great Ingusches leads over the woody hills, at first for a few wersts on the right, and afterwards on the left bank of the Kumbalei. The pass may be about eighty fathoms broad, and six wersts in length; it is every where level, passable for carriages, and has some wood. On both sides are high, steep, wooded hills, on whose summits grows a beautiful red wood, the *taxus*, or yew. At the extremity of the pass is a stone image, fixed upon a rock, to which they pray and offer sacrifice. Here opens the valley of the Great Ingusches, which runs south-east above six wersts by four broad. Most of the villages are situated on the north side of the valley, partly on the declivity of the hill and partly on the river. On the west side of the rivulet Gerge also lie some detached villages. At the entrance of the valley stands a tower, surrounded by a wall, which might serve to defend the pass. The valley itself is level, and furnishes sufficient pasturage for the cattle of the inhabitants; it is watered by brooks: on the east and north side winds the Kumbalei, and on the south and west the Gerge; and both unite at the pass, after they have received several small streams. The Gerge rises in the south, among the lofty snow-mountains, and rushes impetuously down the rugged hill on the south side of the valley. Along this river runs a foot-path to Stephan Tzminda on the Terek.

The arable lands of the Great Ingusches lie chiefly on the southern declivity of the northern range of hills, and they keep their sheep on the southern and eastern woody chain. At the foot of the western hills is situated the village of Wapi, on a brook called by the Ossetes Makaldon, which falls into the right of the Terek, midway between Baltasch and Lars. The Kumbalei issues from the eastern hills in two arms, on the right side of which runs the road to the valley of the river Assai and the Inner Ingusches. A foot-way between the eastern and northern range leads to the Schadigö and Ckarabulacks.

Proceeding still higher from the sources of the Kumbalei, and crossing the hills which separate it from the valley of the Assai or Schadjir, you come, not far from it, to a place called Galga, which is considered as the original abode of the Ingusches, and lies just seven miles south of the sources of the Ssundsha. From this spot a toilsome road leads over a miserable bridge to the right bank of the Assai, which is here contracted between hills, whence its current is the more rapid, and full of fragments of rocks. It often washes the perpendicular rocky base of an inaccessible hill, and compels you to change your route from one side to the other. Not far from a sacred rock, upon which the Ingusches from motives of piety throw horns of animals and sticks, is a second bridge conducting to the left bank. Places where

similar offerings are made occur at many of the dangerous passes in the mountains. For want of bridges you pursue a foot-path on the side of the western hills, which leads in steep places over narrow fascines covered with earth, scarcely capable of bearing a man, but over which loaded asses and mules are conducted. Ten wersts further south you gradually descend to the river, where you find a wall partly fallen to ruin, with a tower, built right across the narrow pass, not more than forty yards in breadth, between inaccessible hills. To the south-west of this pass now opens the extensive valley of the Inguschcs, who also denominate themselves Schalcha. On the west side, before you enter it, near the village of Wapila, is a cavern with an iron cross, in the middle of a steep rock, to which a general pilgrimage is made in the month of June. On the rock are to be seen traces of former habitations. The valley is large, uneven, and inhabited along the side of the hills. The views which it affords are truly pleasing and romantic: ancient castles seated upon rocks and precipices, conical towers like pyramids, sloping fields on the sides of the highest hills, torrents rushing down between them in foaming cascades, and luxuriant meadows through which a thousand small channels are cut for the purposes of irrigation—such are the prospects that greet the eye on every side. Inclosed with rocks whose topmost crags crown this valley with everlasting snow, it seems in summer to embrace within its compass all the four seasons of the year. The fields are surrounded with stones, and the Inguschcs are so anxious to convert every spot of land to the purposes of agriculture, that they grudge even the space for paths, and for the sake of a foot of land whole families often exterminate one another. They are constantly employed in removing from their fields the stones that have rolled down from the hills upon them, in cutting new channels for irrigation, and in improving barren soils. Notwithstanding the pains which they take in the cultivation of the land, it scarcely supplies the wants of the inhabitants; for which reason many of them removed to the valley of the Great Inguschcs, and afterwards as far as the foot of the hills to Schalcha. The straw of wheat never grows here above a foot long, but the ears are large and heavy.

The Inguschcs are industrious, especially the women, who not only attend to the domestic concerns, but make clothes for their husbands, fetch home fire-wood frequently from the distance of eight wersts, and carry very heavy burdens over the hills. Almost all the elevated valleys are destitute of wood, which must be brought with great labour from the lofty mountains. This, as I should suppose, is the chief reason that their houses are built of stone, with flat roofs. They whitewash the exterior of their buildings and towers, though they are not very tenacious of cleanliness within.

They build together in families, and often fortify their villages with walls and conical towers from sixty to ninety feet in height. Their fields lie contiguous to their habitations; the animals which they keep are hogs, sheep, asses, mules, a few horses, and horned cattle; for the deficiency of pasturage admits of a small number only of the latter. For the rest, their wants are few. Wretchedly clad in the Tartar fashion, wrapped winter and summer in felt-cloaks, they have often no other food than raw roots, and are nevertheless very temperate when the chase affords them better cheer. The oldest persons of the family sit down first to their repast, and leave those who follow them so much that enough remains, after they have done, for the children. In the observance of the rights of hospitality, in the possession of their property in common, in the equitable division of what fortune or accident throws in their way, they lose the appearance of savage life, and seem actuated by more humane sentiments than we rapacious Europeans who style ourselves polished and civilized. They are very meagre, but well grown, swift of foot, strong and indefatigable. Freedom, wildness, and gravity, are expressed in their looks. In temper they are violent, but soon pacified again; and all their passions are displayed without disguise or restraint. They consider the contempt of life as a virtue, and the slightest symptom of fear as the greatest of faults; for which reason they choose rather to lay violent hands on themselves than to submit to the will of another. Their women show the same heroic firmness, of which the following instance came to the knowledge of Count John Potocki during his residence on the Line.—An Ingusch carried a young female of his own country to Endery with the intention of selling her. A Jew from Schirwan offered 240 rubles in Persian stuffs for her, and the bargain was concluded. The buyer and seller withdrew for a moment to look at the goods; on which the girl thus addressed the by-standers: "I am but a poor orphan, whom any one may abuse with impunity. My conductor promised me marriage, and now he is selling me, that he may have silk clothes. But I will take care that he never shall wear them." With these words she went out into the garden and hung herself upon a tree.

Hunting, war, and marauding, are deemed by the Inguschs the most reputable employments of youth; and they rob as much for the sake of honour as from necessity. They have heads of families without authority, and eloquence and abilities alone have any influence over them. To laws and a state of subjection they are utter strangers; and in all their transactions they are governed solely by ancient custom. The father arms his son as soon as he is able to defend himself, and then abandons him to his fate and his inclinations.

The Ingusches borrow their names from animals: thus, one is named *Ust*, ox; a second *Chaka*, hog; a third *Poe*, dog; and so forth. The women have still more singular appellations, for instance, *Assir wachara*—she who rides a calf; *Ossiali wachara*—she who rides a bitch, &c. Should an Ingusch be indebted to an individual belonging to any of the neighbouring tribes and not pay him, the creditor goes to his *Kunack*, or guest, among the Ingusches, acquaints him with the circumstance, and solicits him to procure the payment of the debt, with this threat: "If thou dost not comply, I have brought with me a dog which I will kill upon the graves of thy family."—Every Ingusch trembles at this dreadful menace; and if the debtor denies the debt, he is obliged to swear that he does not owe it. On this occasion dogs' bones are mixed with the excrements of the same animals, and carried to the sacred rock Jerda. Here the person charged with the debt says with a loud voice, "If I deny the truth, may the dead of my family carry upon their shoulders the dead of the family of my accuser, and that too on this road when it has rained and the sun scorches!" The same ceremony takes place in charges of theft, for the Ingusches steal oftener than they lend.—If a man's son dies, another who has lost his daughter goes to the father, and says, "Thy son will want a wife in the other world; I will give him my daughter; pay me the price of the bride." Such a demand is never refused, even though the purchase of the bride amount to thirty cows. They take five and more wives, and after the father's death the eldest son marries them all except his own mother, whom however any of his brothers may take on the same footing. When this scandalous custom is reprobated in the presence of an Ingusch, he replies, "My father lay with my mother, and why should not I lie with his wife?"

The women of the Kists and Ingusches are small, strong, and tolerably handsome; the girls, adorned with the glow of health, are very lively, inquisitive and merry creatures. Their hair in front is cut so short as to cover only half the forehead, over which they spread it with great care, making it adhere together with white lead. That on the hinder part of the head they plait in several braids, which fall over the shoulders and down the back; but married women have it done up in two braids only, each being tied with a silk, woollen or cotton fillet, which is passed round it so often that it is an inch thick near the head, and diminishes to the other extremity, which just reaches to the top of the shift, where both are tied together with a ribband. The rest of their head-dress consists of a Tscherkessian hat, which looks very well before, and brass, copper or glass ear-rings. The shift is worked at the shoulders and breast, with silk, wool or yarn of different colours, to the depth of five

inches. Over it they wear a jacket which reaches to the waist and is fastened with a girdle, and under the shift long trowsers. These trowsers mark their condition; married women wear red, widows and old women blue, and young unmarried females white trowsers; but all of them are neatly worked at the ancles in a variety of colours bordered with black. In winter, females of all classes wear boots, and in summer go barefoot. When their household business is finished, they employ themselves in making carpets, or felts. They manufacture also a slight woollen stuff (*Zoka*), which serves to clothe themselves as well as their husbands and children.

Their method of dancing seems peculiar to themselves, as it is not to be met with among the other inhabitants of the Caucasus. A party sitting down in a large circle sing, and accompanied by hautboys or bagpipes challenge the youngest and ablest dancers to show their activity. Such as choose then throw themselves into a variety of dangerous postures, and perform all sorts of antics, one after another. When all the dancers have taken their turn, amidst loud and general plaudits, they join hands, sing, and dance in long files. They frequently form with great dexterity in one large circle, open and close again, and conclude with the same dangerous antics with which they began. That the fair sex may not be deprived of this diversion, they seek some blind musician with whom they may amuse themselves in some spot at a distance from the men, without violating the custom which enjoins them to conceal their persons from strangers of the other sex.

The art of writing is considered by the Ingusches as a miracle wrought by the Christian and Mohammedan religions in favour of their professors; they nevertheless continue averse to those religions, though the Russian missionaries employed by the Ossetian Commission took great pains to convert them to the Greek church. Two brothers of this nation were sold as slaves to the Turks, embraced the Mohammedan faith, visited Mecca, and at length recovered their liberty. Returning to their native land, they found their mother yet alive, and, having converted her, began to preach with pious zeal against the veneration paid by their countrymen to rocks. "Ye preach a doctrine," said the Ingusches to them, "which ye learned while slaves; we'll have nothing to do with it; therefore begone, and never show your faces here again." The two brothers withdrew unmolested to another country; a proof that the religion of the Ingusches is far more tolerant than the Christian.

The religion of the Ingusches is extremely simple; for they worship one God, whom they name *Däle*, but no saints or other illustrious persons. They celebrate Sunday, not by religious worship, but by rest from labour. In spring they observe a long fast, and in summer one of shorter duration. They have no particular customs

either at the birth or death of man, but annually perform general pilgrimages to holy places, most of which are remains of Christian churches erected in the time of the celebrated Georgian queen Thamar, who reigned from A. D. 1171 to 1198, subdued most of the Caucasians, and converted them to Greek christianity*. On such occasions they make offerings of sheep, beer, and other things. An old man of known sanctity, whom they term *Zanin stag*, or pure man, who is their only priest, and unmarried, has alone the right to offer sacrifices and prayers at the holy places. A festival of this kind is celebrated with a general feast upon the animals sacrificed. Of Christianity they retain nothing but a veneration for ancient churches and a contempt for the Mohammedan religion. Those who resided nearest to the plain of the Kabardah suffered themselves to be baptized in the time of the Russian missionaries, but since the suppression of the Ossetian Commission this has totally ceased.

On the south side of the valley of the Ingusches that has just been described, upon an eminence at whose foot the two arms of the Assai† unite, and on the right

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* The Ingusches, like most of the Caucasians, still have a week of seven days, which they call *Kirra*, or Sunday. The names given to the days of the week by them, as well as by the kindred tribes, the Tschetschenzes and Tuschi, are as follow:

	Inguschian.	*Tuschian.*	*Tschetschenzian.*
Sunday	Kirende	Kwira	Kirra
Monday	Orschoat	Zaenahe	Orschoet
Tuesday	Schinara	Schinahae	Schinara
Wednesday	Kare	Kohe	Kare
Thursday	Jere	Heuch	Jere
Friday	Baraske	Baraske	Baraske
Saturday	Schaat	Schabat	Schaät.

The name of Saturday is certainly derived from Sabbath. On the other hand, the Ingusches have no particular names for the twelve months of the year; but their neighbours the Tschetschenzes, who speak a kindred language, give them the following appellations:

January,	Antchera but	July,	Schilim but
February,	Baiste halcharim but	August,	Gurine halcharim but
March,	Mort but	September,	Gurine jukerim but
April,	Ualal but	October,	Gurine tsharim but
May,	Bästi but	November,	Aini halcharim but
June,	Jukere but	December,	Tschile but.

But signifies moon or month.

† The Assai or Assi, called in Tscherkessian Schadjir, and by the Russians Ossaja or Ossai, is one of the principal mountain-streams of the Northern Caucasus, and rises in the slate-hills at the foot of the high snowy range, on the north side of which are the sources of the Dokon Argun (Great

arm, is an ancient building, the object of the great annual pilgrimages of the whole nation. The *Zanin stag*, or holy old man, resides near it, and slaughters the animals presented for sacrifice, which are consumed by the pilgrims; the head, horns and bones only being preserved in the building. The latter is partly sunk in the earth, and is twenty-three paces in length, seven in breadth, and eighteen feet in height. It is built of smooth hewn stone, but the roof has fallen in. On the west and east side is to be seen a small court-yard. The entrance by a gate was on the west side, but is now blocked up with stones: the present entrance is by a low door on the south side. Over the principal entrance are some rude figures cut in stone in alto relievo. A man is represented sitting on a chair, and over him on the left a hand proceeds from the clouds holding a rule; by his side stands another figure holding a cross in the left hand and a sabre in the right. On the other side another figure is carrying bunches of grapes on a pole over his shoulder; at the side are heads of cherubs, which are also introduced by way of ornament at the corners. Over the principal figure is seen the façade of a Greek church; but the ancient Georgian inscriptions, which Pallas has mistaken for Gothic, are now wholly illegible. On the east side of the building are two narrow windows, and in the south wall small triangular holes are left instead of windows. The interior of the edifice is dark, dirty, and without pavement; and in the middle is a heap of ashes accumulated from the sacrifices. Heads with horns, bones, and broken arrows, are laid up against the sides. On the east side are some arches walled up with stone, which are said to communicate with vaults where books and other articles belonging to the church are deposited. These places the Ingusches will not suffer any person to explore. During my second visit to Mosdok, however, I procured two tattered Greek manuscripts on the Liturgy, on smooth cotton paper, which had been brought away by a Capuchin missionary who had once penetrated to the country of the Ingusches: they properly belonged to the Catholic mission, but were exchanged with me by the Jesuits for some other books of more utility to them.

The Great Ingusches are much more hospitable and sociable with strangers than

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Argun) and the Koissu, and from whose south side issue the Jör, Alasani, and Ssamura. It flows at first nearly due west, and then turns northward. Upon this river and its tributary streams, the Soslanchi and Basseren (the Yellow), are situated several villages, the highest of which border on the Georgian district of Chewssurethi, all the rivulets of which also join the Assai. Below Chewssurethi, on the Assai, are the Kistian districts of Mecsti, Galgai, or Halha (the Ingusches), which extend from the Kumbalei, across the Ssundsha, to the Assai; the district of Meredshi, with metallic ores, Galaschka, and lastly Dubach. On the Basseren there are salt-springs. See Güldenstädt, i. 171.

those residing on the Assai, and have borrowed their manners and customs from the Ossetes and Tscherkessians. At entertainments the host always waits upon his guests, and eats only what the latter throw to him. He sets before them the head and breast at once; of these each is expected to partake, but the ears are allotted to the boy to remind him of the duty of obedience. After eating the flesh, they drink the broth. They squat round in a circle to the repast, at which they use nothing but their fingers. Their burial-places are vaults of masonry above-ground, with a small aperture on the west side by which the corpse is introduced; it is afterwards closed with stones, and the women fasten to it the braids of their hair. For persons killed by lightning, they erect poles to which they attach the head and extended skin of a goat. Respecting the time of their settlement in the country which they now inhabit they are totally ignorant; but the ruined church on the northern hills, at which those offer sacrifice who do not go on pilgrimage to that just described, evinces a pretty high antiquity. Their flocks and herds are considerable, and they have a good breed of horses. The more opulent let their cattle, and find this method both safer and more advantageous. Ten sheep with ten lambs yield every three years a profit of eight head, so that the owner must receive back twenty-eight head. Should the farmer have the misfortune to lose the sheep, he pays a cow every three years in their stead, till he can return the proper number. For a cow with a calf a sheep is annually given; and for a mare a cow, together with half the foals she drops; or in ten years three sheep, the mare with foal, and half the foals dropped during that time. This practice has the authority of a tacit law among these people. For a certain tribute also they take the indigent and defenceless under their protection. They observe the great fasts of the Greek church, but that is the extent of their knowledge of Christianity. On these occasions they perform their pilgrimages to the holy places, and after harvest to the cavern with the iron cross. They relate many extraordinary stories concerning these sanctuaries; and, among the rest, of a vault in the valley of Schalcha, which is built of stone. Here a passage is said to lead through nine doors to a cavern, where large books, a gold candlestick, a chest full of valuables, and a man and woman are preserved sound and uninjured.

The Galgai, Halha, or Ingusches, call themselves *Lamur*, or mountaineers; and their neighbours,

The Tscherkessians, - - -	Ghabartie.
Ossetes, - - - - -	Hhiri.
Lesgians, - - - - -	Suéle.

The Russians, - - - - -	Urussi.
Georgians, - - - - -	Gurdshi.
Armenians, - - - - -	Ermelei.
Tschetschenzes, - - -	Nachtschui.

The nation of the Ingusches is composed of seven tribes, bearing the following names:—1. Tergimcha; 2. Agi; 3. Cham-hoi-y; 4. Charatoi; 5. Zimkai-boch; 6. Ge-ula-wy; 7. Wapi. They are very easily won by kindness and indulgence; and so long as you do not deceive them, you are sure of their confidence. At present they live on a tolerably amicable footing with the Russians, by whom they are considered as subjects. The selfishness of the Russian civil officers gives occasion to much resistance, and the cheats of Armenian traders to many complaints.

CHAPTER XXIX.

DEPARTURE FROM GRIGORIPOL, OR KUMBALEI—POTEMKIN REDOUBT, NOW DEMOLISHED—ARRIVAL AT THE TEREK—STONES IN THAT RIVER—ITS DIFFERENT GEORGIAN NAMES—TERGI—LOMEKISS-MDINARE—ARAGWI—SINGULARITY OF THE LATTER APPELLATION—WLADIKAWKAS, OR TERK-CKALLA—COUNT IWELITSCH—PROPOSED ESTABLISHMENT OF A NEW MILITARY LINE ALONG THE CKUBAN AND THE SSUNDSHA—THE LITTLE KABARDAH DESCRIBED—DOUBLE CHAIN OF MOUNTAINS INTERSECTING IT—RIVERS—ELEVATION OF THE STEPPE AND ITS FERTILITY—VILLAGES IN THE LITTLE KABARDAH—FREQUENT CHANGES OF THEIR SITES AND NAMES—THEIR FORMER SITUATION—NARROW PASS ON THE RIVER NASSIRAN AND THE SSUNDSHA—PRESERVED CORPSES—ANCIENT TARTAR SEPULCHRE ON THE JAMAN-CKUL.

On the morning of the 23d of December we quitted our frozen encampment, and were furnished with a more numerous escort, composed of Cossacks and Jägers, because the Ingusches and Tschetschenzes rendered the road from Kumbalei to Wladikawkas very unsafe. Near Grigoripol, and seven wersts to the south of that place, as far as the Terek, you see great numbers of dwarf oak-trees scattered over the steppe. Half way to Wladikawkas formerly stood the small redoubt of Potemkin, of which nothing is now visible but part of the earthen ramparts. The soil here seems to be extremely fertile, and if it were under tillage it would make excellent corn-land. The water of the Terek was clear, and had a greenish blue appearance; its current flowed with rapidity over the greatest variety of stones belonging to the different Caucasian species of rock, among which I observed gray and very compact basaltic porphyry, a darker and less compact kind, brown red porphyry the principal mass of which is allied to basalt, the same of a brighter colour and more porous, siliceous slate, coarse black slate, and lime-stone of different colours.

The Terek bears the same name among all the neighbouring tribes, and the Georgians also now call it Thergi, though it was formerly denominated by them Lomek'iss-mdinare, that is, the river of Lomek'i. But it is not a little remarkable that they give to its upper part, from its source to the place where it leaves the Caucasian mountains and enters the plain of the Kabardah, the appellation of Aragwi, the

same that they assign to the river which rises not far from its sources, but takes a directly contrary course to the south, and traverses the Caucasus from south to north, as the other intersects this mountainous region on the opposite side from north to south, and falls into the Kur near Mzchetha. In like manner the Phasis of the ancients is called by the Georgians Rioni; and the Uruch, or Iref, which rises opposite to its sources on the other side of the snowy range, in the country of the Ossetes, and after running northward empties itself into the Terek, is also named Rioni in the Georgian maps*.

Our road now led up the right bank of the Terek to the now important fortress of Wladikawkas, denominated by the Tscherkessians Terek-ckalla, or Terek-town, and situated on a hill which gradually slopes to the river. The place has scarcely any other inhabitants than soldiers and Cossacks, if we except a few Ossetes in the suburbs, and the Russians who come thither to furnish the garrison with supplies. The houses are built of wood; but they are clean and white-washed on the outside, so that the place with its tolerably spacious streets makes a very good appearance. The commandant at the time of my visit was the Montenegrin Count Iwelitsch, a warm friend and protector of all the neighbouring robber-princes, with whom he used to share the booty taken from the Russians. This disgraceful conduct he pursued here for several years, till at length, exceeding all bounds, he was brought to a court-martial, and suffered the punishment merited by his misdeeds.

Wladikawkas is 23 wersts from Grigoripol, and may be considered as the key to the Caucasus and the road to Georgia, being situated at the extremity of the valley of the Terek. If then the Line were better regulated and extended, this place would acquire a still greater degree of importance. There is upon the whole but one way of securing the Russian territories on this side against the incessant attacks of the mountaineers, and to keep the Kabardians in awe; and that is, to endeavour as much as possible to dissolve all connection between the inhabitants of the Caucasus and the Turks. Towards the accomplishment of this object the following plan might be

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* See De l'Isle *Carte générale de la Georgie et de l'Arménie, dessinée en* 1738 *à S. Petersbourg, et publiée en* 1766 *à Paris.* In this map however the Uruch is represented as running into the Baksan, (*Bastiani.*) which also is erroneously made to discharge itself into the Ckuban. The origin of this remarkable map is as follows: Joseph Nicholas de l'Isle, being at Petersburg in 1737, was informed that a Georgian prince, resident at the same time in that capital, had brought with him several general and particular maps of his native country. He was fortunate enough to obtain the prince's permission to take copies of them, and procured a translation of the names from his secretary. From these materials he compiled his map with the above title.

pursued: let a military cordon be drawn along the Ckuban from the redoubt of Nedremannoi to the stone bridge leading over that river; let forts be erected upon it, which might be kept up without any great expense if salt-magazines were established in them, where the tribes residing beyond the Ckuban might procure salt at the rate of one ruble sixty copecks per pud. Though this is a very high price, they would nevertheless be content to give it, as they are obliged to purchase the commodity of smugglers at a much dearer rate: but in this case it would be necessary to treat them with the greatest strictness, and to keep a vigilant eye upon the traffic in salt.

To the defence of this Line along the Ckuban might be applied part of the troops now stationed on the Terek, all those cantoned on the Malka and on the rivers Kura, Kuma, and Podkumka, as well as some squadrons of the Stawropol dragoons. In this manner all connection between the Kabardians and the Transckubanians would be cut off, and the former could no longer receive and secure the plunder taken upon the Line. The Transckubanians themselves would have many more difficulties to surmount in order to make incursions into the Russian territory, and it would be impossible for them to convey their Russian prisoners to the coast of the Black Sea to be disposed of to foreigners. The Nogays on the Besch-tau would moreover be prevented from seeking an asylum beyond the Ckuban when they have committed depredations on the Russian side, as they are now accustomed to do.

On the other side it would be advisable to adopt the plan formed by Colonel Ruzewi, at the command of Prince Zizianow; which is, to draw a line along the Ssundsha from its influx into the Terek, near Bragun, to Wladikawkas. The Kabardians would thus be prevented from selling their booty to the Tschetschenzes and Ckumücks. The Tschetschenzes also could no longer infest the road from Mosdok to Wladikawkas; neither could they pass on further to dispose of their booty in men, cattle and effects. The Kabardian freebooters, moreover, when the Russians should insist on their surrender, could not take refuge among the Tschetschenzes, who readily afford protection to all the enemies of Russia, and often employ them as guides in distant expeditions against the Line. The Kabardians would thus be completely inclosed by the Russians and in their power. The troops now stationed on the Terek from Mosdok to the influx of the Ssundsha, and also the regiment of Naur, would serve to defend this second Line. If after these arrangements Caucasian robbers should yet steal past unobserved, and venture into the Russian territories, a watch might be set for them against their return, their booty might be recovered, and they might themselves be chastised with ease, as the troops would be so near to their settlements.

At Wladikawkas terminates the steppe known by the appellation of the Little Kabardah. Little Kabardah and Great Kabardah are divisions of the nation and country to which the Tscherkessians themselves are strangers, and current among the Russians alone. Respecting the Upper and Lower Kabardah, as mentioned by Gärber*, they are just as ignorant. They know of no more than one Kabardah; and that is the portion which is commonly called the Great, and which in their language bears the same denomination. The Little Kabardah, which is more particularly the object of our present consideration, is bounded on the north by the Terek, on the east by the Ssundsha, (in Tschetschenzian Ssoltsch,) on the south by the rivulet Kumbalei, (called by the Ingusches Ghalun,) and on the west by the river Lesken, which having united with the Argudan falls into the left of the Terek. It is nearly in the shape of a right-angled triangle, 140 wersts in length on the north side, only 60 on the south, and 70 from north to south. The eastern portion is called Gilachsanié, (in Tartar Gilachstan,) and belongs to Prince Gilachsan, son of Kaitucko, whose chief villages on the rivulet Psedache are named by the Russians Achlowy kaboki. The western part is denominated Taltostanié, (in Tartar Tau-Ssulthan, that is, Mountain-lord,) and belongs to Prince Ali machzid Mudareke, son of Alchas. He resides in the village of Pschitkau, on the little river Psip'-pscha, or Blackwater, which is likewise called Taltostanié, and by the Russians Kabaki Tau Ssultany. The name of Ansorié is given to the villages of a wealthy usden, between the left of the Terek and the river Lesken. Two ridges of narrow-pointed mountains, to which the Russians give the appropriate appellation of Greben', (Combs,) but called by the Tscherkessians Arak, or Arek, run from west to east through the extensive plain of the Little Kabardah parallel to the Terek, which pursues an eastern direction, and to the branch of the principal range. From the Terek, above its junction with the

* "The Tschirkassians," says he, "possess the country of Cabarda, which is divided into the Upper and Lower. The Upper or mountainous Cabarda is bounded by Tawlistan, the Awari, the Georgian mountains of Imirette, and to the west by the Cubanian Tartars. The Lower Cabarda extends from the mountains of the Upper Cabarda to the rivers Terek and Suntsch. These provinces are not extensive, and you might traverse either of them with ease in four days from one extremity to the other. The Upper Cabarda is full of mountains and defiles; it has no towns, nor even regular villages, as each individual builds himself a hut of reeds, or a mud-wall cottage, in any situation that he pleases between the mountains. The Lower Cabarda, on the contrary, is chiefly level, and consequently abounds in arable land, pasturage, and wood; but has very few villages." Müller's *Samml. Russ. Geschichte.* iv. 19. Hence it is evident that Gärber had a very erroneous notion of the Kabardah, especially as he has placed the sources of the Ckuban, Terek, and Kuma, in what he terms the Lower Cabarda.

Malka, the northern also called the Achlowian Greben is from 10 to 15 wersts distant, and terminates to the west at Dshulat, and to the east near Bragun, at the influx of the Ssundsha. The second, named Belantscha, runs parallel to the former, about ten wersts to the south of it, and 30 to the north of the branch of the Caucasian mountains. It terminates westward at the river Uruch, and eastward at the Ssundsha, opposite to the Tschetschenzian village of Alda. The former is about five and the latter ten wersts in breadth, and both are in their most elevated parts about 360 feet above the level of the Terek. The base is a coarse, porous sand-stone covered with a grayish yellow clay, of which last the foot also is composed. No traces of minerals are to be found in them, with the exception of springs of naphtha, and warm springs at their east end, where native sulphur occurs. Their central part is totally destitute of brooks and streams, but on the west you meet with several, especially in the second Greben. On its northern declivity, from the Terek to the distance of 35 wersts eastward, rise the nine following rivulets: 1. Psugabsche, 2. Ssare-ssu, (Tartar, Yellow Water) 3. Mandoch, 4. Assokai, 5. Jaman-kul, (Tartar, the Shabby Peasant)—between the last two are the villages of Botaschewa—6. Kurp, the largest and the only one of these streams that is not lost in the plain, but runs due north through the Achlowian Greben, and falls into the Terek opposite to the village of Alexandria, 7. Kisskem, 8. Dshariqua, and 9. Psedache. The currents of all these rivers are scarcely a few paces broad, but their banks are extremely steep, and several fathoms in height. Their beds are composed of grayish yellow clay, and their water is consequently turbid. Opposite to these streams the rivulet Kerschin runs along the southern foot of the second Greben from east to west, and falls into the Kumbalei a little above the influx of the latter into the Terek. In its course it receives into its right several streams, and particularly the rivulet Ssejuqua, the water of which is very transparent. Between the two Grebens, at their western extremities which stretch away towards the Terek, flow the rivulets Bdaja and Ackbasch, (Tartar, White Head) which have one common discharge into the Terek, and a pure limpid current running over a gravelly bottom. They are celebrated for their excellent salmon. Lastly, Kojan is a rivulet that rises at the western extremity of the first and northernmost Greben, and loses itself in the steppe at the distance of a few wersts. Between this Greben, the Terek, and the branch of the principal range of mountains, the whole country is level, or what is termed a *steppe;* yet it is elevated about ninety feet above the horizontal level of the Terek, and keeps gradually but imperceptibly rising toward the mountains. This steppe is very fertile, and even at the end of July you find all the plants and herbage in it green and lively, because

they are refreshed by the vapours of the numerous streams and the cool mountain air; whereas in the plain extending from the north bank of the Terek all vegetation is parched up at the same season by the heat and drought.

Near the above-mentioned streams there is very little wood. The western half of the northern Greben is quite bare; but the southern is well wooded with timber trees, especially with *Quercus robur*, *Carpinus betulus*, and *Fagus sylvatica*, of which the northern is totally destitute. The reverse is the case with the eastern extremities of these mountains toward the Ssundsha, but lime-trees are to be met with there.

To this geological and geographical description of the Little Kabardah I will subjoin a statement of the villages, according to their situation, before the late plague in 1806 and 1807; for most of them have been forsaken or destroyed since that visitation, which made great havoc among the inhabitants of the Little Kabardah, because the Tscherkessians, regardless of the danger of contagion, immediately appropriated to their own use the effects of those who died. The southernmost, at the foot of the principal range of the Caucasus, are the villages of Elmursina and Barukina, the former on the rivulet Chyttegyps, which falls into the Ordan (in Ossetian Arre-don, Mad river); the latter on the Pog or Fiag, named by the Russians Fok or Fokka. The westernmost is the village of Ansorie, on the Lesken, at the north foot of the southern Greben. These are three of the largest villages, each of which may be computed to contain about 500 families. On the east bank of the Terek are seated three more; two of these are scarcely five hundred paces distant from each other, and lie opposite to Tartartup. The southern is called Tusarcha, and the northern Jeltucha; the third, about twenty wersts northward of the latter, is named Kakulduquähe: each of them may comprehend about eighty families.

On the rivulet Bdaja, in the space of about six wersts from its source, are situated eight villages, which are nearly equidistant, and all of which are called Schaloch: they may be reckoned upon an average at forty families each, making a total of three hundred and twenty families. On the same rivulet, two wersts further northward, lies the village of Pschitkau, and two wersts beyond that the village of Dyschnoga, each of about forty families: four wersts to the north of the latter, on the Ack-basch, is the village of Kumbekquadshe, containing about a hundred families, and this is the last in that direction. At the foot of the southern Greben, on the rivulet Assokai, are seated three villages, scarcely two wersts distant from one another, and each of which may comprehend about fifty families. Lastly, on both

sides of the rivulet Jaman-kul are situated large villages called Botaschewa, which together contain about 300 families, and these are the easternmost in the district of Tau Ssulthan. According to this loose calculation, the population amounted to about 2690 families anterior to the late plague, by which it is now said to be reduced to half that number.

The appellations of the above-mentioned villages are as unsettled as their situations; each of them commonly takes its name from the principal family to which it belongs, and frequently also from the eldest usden or nobleman, at whose death it is changed to that of the next in succession. The situation of the village is still more variable; for in the course of a few years, when the land around is too much exhausted, and the wood in the vicinity is consumed, the settlement is transferred to some other spot. About fifty years ago all these villages were situated more southward on the rivers Kizil, Meremedik, Ordan, and Psechusch; but being harassed by the tribes residing in the mountains, they removed to a greater distance from those freebooters to the southern Greben, and at last even beyond that range of mountains. To the second district of the Little Kabardah, called Gilachsan, belongs only one principal village, with some subordinate establishments: the former is situated on the north-east side of the southern Greben, and is likewise denominated Gilachsan by the Tscherkessians. In this place reside the princely families of Achlau and Mudar, with their subjects, who may be computed at 500 families. The Russians formerly called this village Kurgokina, from Prince Kurgok Achlau; afterwards Koituka, from Prince Koituka Achlau; and now name it Achlowy or Achlau Kabak. This family of Tscherkessian princes used to reside on the Ssundsha, near the rivulet Nasran or Nassiran, whence it removed hither about eighty years since, because it was exceedingly annoyed by the neighbouring Tschetschenzes and Ckarabulacks. The Nassiran is a small stream running from the north-east, and bordered by swampy ground, with some reeds and bushes: the water is clear, but the bottom muddy; for which reason it is impassable except at the ford. It falls into the left of the Ssundsha, at the foot of the eastern declivity of the second Greben, and has at its mouth warm springs, named the springs of Pawlow. The difficulty of crossing, the eminences, and the Ssundsha itself which washes the foot of the woody mountains, here form a very strong and narrow pass, that would be the next important post after Tartartup, by means of which the mountaineers, Kabardians, and Tschetschenzes might be controlled: from nature and situation it possesses strength and every requisite. Some wersts from the north side of the Nassiran, and near the west bank of the Ssundsha, on a considerable eminence, is a sepulchral monument,

a hexagonal building, which has an arched roof, and each side of which is six feet broad and about nine high. The entrance which faces the south is about three feet broad, but not quite the height of a man: by the side of it are projecting walls above a foot thick, to prevent the rain from beating in. The interior diameter of the edifice is about twelve feet, and under the level pavement is a subterraneous vault, of the same diameter as the building above, and about seven feet deep, at the east side of which is another cubical cavity three feet broad. The passage to this vault is by a circular aperture in the floor, which is likewise about three feet wide and narrows downwards, probably to receive a single stone fitted into and closing this aperture, but which is now wanting. The edifice is of hewn stone, cemented with very adhesive mortar, and built in the most regular manner by rule and square: over the entrance is an inscription of three lines; but it is so indistinctly given in Güldenstädt, that not a single letter can be recognised. According to the translation of his attendants, this was the mausoleum of a certain Malek arii Sanabi, and the inscription was put up by Ali-Ssulthan*. He found in the vault six bodies ranged side by side, under which as many more seemed to be deposited: the bodies were inclosed in coffins composed of five smooth oak boards, one below, two perpendicular at the sides, two obliquely inclining towards one another for the top, so that the two ends were of a pentagonal form. The bodies lay upon their backs with their heads to the west, and were almost all of them undecayed. Some were entire, but the arms and legs had been separated from others. All had shrouds, the fashion of which could not be accurately distinguished: so much however might be clearly perceived, that the garment began at the neck without covering the head, and fell loose over the feet. Several of these garments were composed of white cotton stuff, and others were made of silk: one of these was quite yellow, and a second red, adorned with flowers of gold and of different colours. The bodies were of both sexes, and were shrunk up so as to appear like mere skeletons covered with skin. Toward the east there was a square hole in the wall, where a hare and a greyhound, dried in the same manner, appeared erect, in the attitude of running: both were without hair, and the former had lost half an ear, but was in other respects uninjured. The report that a hare pursued by a greyhound sought refuge in this vault, whither she was followed by the dog, and that both had been preserved like the human bodies by the nature of the place, is the more improbable, as the dog when he came to feel the calls of hunger would scarcely have been con-

* Güldenstädt i. 509.

tent to bite off the hare's ear alone, and have left the rest of the little animal untouched.

In the peculiarly spare and slender make of the inhabitants of this country, in the elevation of the place, in the dryness of the soil and atmosphere, and in the heat of the climate, we may find causes sufficient to account for the preservation of these bodies from putrefaction. There is no tradition respecting the time of the construction of this monument, which is called Bargunka-Ketschanah, or Burial place of undecayed bodies. These however seem to be the remains of Mohammedans, as the inscription in Arabic letters, and the names of Malek, Ssanabi, and Aly Ssulthan evince, though the manner of interring them differs from that usually observed by Mussulmans. To the distance of some wersts round this mausoleum, as also on the opposite eminences on the left bank of the Ssundsha, are to be seen graves covered with heaps of stones or rude masonry in the form of pyramids; for, as I have already observed, this country was inhabited till within these eighty years by Kabardians. About ten wersts below it, upon a little hill in the steppe on the Ssundsha, is still standing a sand-stone, a few inches thick, on which is carved a rose-shaped cross.

The most remarkable, and according to all probability the most ancient sepulchral monument in the Little Kabardah is situated on the east side of the rivulet Jaman-Kul, about three wersts from Botaschewa-ckaback, in the plain at the northern foot of the second Greben. It is an edifice of hewn stone, and round it are about a hundred hillocks of earth called *Bugri*, which probably mark the graves of the princes whose remains are deposited in the monument. The building is an octagon, each of its sides measuring six feet. In that facing the south is an arched door, on each side of which is a wall projecting to the distance of two yards. In the sides fronting the east and west are two corresponding windows about nine feet from the ground. The height of the walls is about twelve feet. At the bottom of the building is a deep vault, the stone supporters of which have fallen in, so that the regular sides of a central aperture leading to the vault are no longer to be seen. This place is so encumbered with stones that no remains of bodies are discoverable. Almost the whole west side of the building is in ruins, and the wall there is two feet thick. On the stone inserted over the door is engraved a Tartar inscription in three lines, of which only these words 'Ckoban-Chan son of Berdi-beg, in the year 860' (A. D. 1455) are legible. Berdi-beg was Chan of Ckabdschack, and son and successor of Dshani-beg, but reigned only from 1357 to 1359. If the Ckoban-Chan men-

tioned in the inscription were a son of this Berdi-beg, he must have lived upwards of a hundred years; a circumstance by no means rare among the roving Tartars.

Throughout the Little Kabardah it is customary for the farmers and herdsmen to throw up small entrenchments, and to erect wooden sheds, to defend themselves from hostile attacks. These fortifications, impregnable to all the mountaineers, consist of a double inclosure of wattle-work higher than a man, set up at the distance of four feet: the intermediate space, except where loop-holes are formed, is filled with earth. Over the inner circle is laid a straw roof, beneath which they keep their seed-corn and agricultural implements, and even sleep occasionally. The narrow entrance is blockaded by their two-wheeled Tartar cars (*Arba*). For the shepherds they have huts erected with beams laid over one another, upon four poles, at the height of twenty-four feet from the ground, which are likewise provided with loop-holes.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE MEREMEDIK NOT THE MERMADALIS OF THE ANCIENTS—OF THE AMAZONS—ACCOUNT OF THE AMAZONS BY HERODOTUS—THEY WERE OF SARMATIAN EXTRACTION, AND RETURNED WITH THEIR HUSBANDS TO SARMATIA—THE SARMATIANS AND MÆOTIANS WERE, ACCORDING TO THE TESTIMONY OF THE ANCIENTS, ONE AND THE SAME NATION TO WHICH THE AMAZONS BELONGED—THEIR SETTLEMENTS IN THE KABARDAH AND IN THE STEPPE OF THE KUMA—MELA'S ACCOUNT OF THE MANNERS OF THE AMAZONS AND SSAUROMATIANS—SIMILAR INSTANCES IN AMERICA—IN THE CAUCASUS—TRADITION RESPECTING THE AMAZONS AS REPORTED BY REINEGGS AND BY COUNT JOHN POTOCKI—EXPLANATION OF THE TERM AYOR-PATA—THERMODON—DEPARTURE FROM WLADIKAWKAS—THE INGUSCHIAN VILLAGE OF SSAUKQUA OR SSAUROWA—BUSCHUA—MINERALOGICAL PARTICULARS CONCERNING THE VALLEY OF THE TEREK—BRIDGE OVER THE TEREK—BALTASCH OR BALTA—DESCRIPTION OF THE VALLEY TO THE SOUTH OF BALTASCH—DORMICE—HOUSES AT BALTASCH.

About thirty wersts below Wladikawkas the brook Meremedik discharges itself into the left of the Terek, between the mouths of the rivers Kizil and Fiag. In summer it is nearly quite dry, and those must be greatly mistaken who consider it as the river Μερμάδαλις or Μερμώδας of the ancients, which, according to Strabo, separated the Λῆγαι and Γῆλαι from the Amazons. If we assume that the Λῆγαι are the nation now known in the Caucasus by the name of Lesgians, and recognise the Γῆλαι in the Inguschian tribe Galgai, resident on the river Assai or Schalgir, which falls into the Ssundsha, the Mermadalis can be no other than the Terek or the Ssundsha; for the mere resemblance of the name to Meremedik proves nothing, especially as that small stream has so narrow a channel that it seems to have been formed only a few centuries ago.

As the tradition respecting the Amazons is still preserved in the Caucasus, I shall here quote for the purpose of comparison the accounts of these warlike females given by the ancients, and Herodotus in particular.—"When the Greeks," says the father of history, "had fought against the Amazons, whom the Scythians call Ayor-Pata, which name is rendered by the Greeks in their language Androchtones, (men-

killers,) for *Ayor* in Scythian signifies a man, and *Pata* to kill—when, I say, they had engaged and defeated these people on the banks of the Thermodon, it is related that they carried away with them in three ships all such as they had made prisoners. When they had got out to sea, they rose upon their conquerors and cut them all in pieces; but ignorant of navigation and unskilled in the use of the helm, the sails and the oars, they suffered the ships, after they had killed the men, to drive at the will of the winds and waves, and landed at Kremnes on the Mæotian Sea. Cremnes was situated in the country of the independent Scythians. The Amazons, having here quitted their ships and penetrated into the inhabited districts, seized the first herd of horses which they met with in their way, mounted them, and plundered the country of the Scythians. The latter could not conceive who were these enemies with whose language and dress they were unacquainted. They knew not of course to what nation they belonged, and in their surprise were totally at a loss to imagine whence they came. They took them at first for young men of the same age, and came to an engagement with them, after which they discovered from the slain that the intruders were women. They resolved in a council held on the subject to kill no more of them, but sent a body of their youngest men, equal in number as nearly as they could guess to these female warriors, with directions to pitch their camp close to that of the Amazons, and to do whatever they saw them do; not to fight them, even in case they should be attacked, but to approach nearer and nearer to them when they desisted from hostilities. The Scythians took this resolution, because they wished to have children by those martial females.

"The young men obeyed these orders; and the Amazons, finding that they had not come to do them any injury, left them unmolested, and the two camps kept daily approaching nearer to one another. The young Scythians, as well as the Amazons, had nothing but their arms and their horses, and subsisted like them by the chase and what booty they were able to make. About noon the Amazons quitted their camp singly or in pairs. The Scythians observing this did the same, and one of their number approached a solitary Amazon, who neither repulsed him nor withheld her favours. As she could not speak to him, because neither of them understood the other, she intimated to him by signs to meet her at the same place the following day with one of his comrades, and she would also bring a companion along with her. The young man, on his return to the camp, related the adventure, and returned the next day with another Scythian to the same spot, where he found the Amazon waiting for him with her companion.

"The other young men hearing of this circumstance, in like manner tamed the

other Amazons, and, having united both camps, dwelt together with them, and each took to wife her whose favours he had first enjoyed. The young people could not learn the language of the Amazons, but these soon acquired that of their husbands; and when they began to understand one another, the Scythians thus addressed them: 'We have parents and possessions, and should like to lead a different kind of life. Let us rejoin our countrymen and live with them; but we promise not to take any other wives than you.'—The Amazons replied:—'We cannot live in community with the women of your country, because their customs are totally different from ours: we bend the bow, we throw the javelin, we ride on horseback, and have not learned any of the manual employments of our sex. Your women do none of these things, but are engaged only in female avocations. They never leave their carriages, nor go out a-hunting. We should therefore not agree at all together. But if you will keep your promise and have us for wives, go to your parents, demand your portion of their property, and then return, and let us continue to live apart.'

"The young Scythians, convinced of the truth of these representations, complied with the desire of their wives, and, when they had received their share of the patrimony, went back to them. The Amazons then said to them: 'After separating you from your fathers and doing so much mischief to your country, we should be afraid to fix our residence here. As therefore you have taken us for your wives, let us remove from this place and dwell on the other side of the Tanais.' The young Scythians agreed to this proposal: they crossed the Tanais; and having proceeded three days to the east, and as many towards the north from the Mæotis, they came to the country where they fixed their abode and which they yet inhabit. Hence the wives of the Sarmatians still retain their ancient customs. They ride on horseback, and hunt sometimes alone and at others in the company of their husbands. They also attend the latter in war, and wear the same dress with the men.

"The Sauromatians use the Scythian language, but corrupted from the beginning, because the Amazons never learned to speak it correctly. In regard to their marriages, it is decreed that no virgin shall be permitted to take a husband till she has killed an enemy in the field: but there are among them some who are unable to qualify themselves as the law requires, and therefore continue unmarried as long as they live."

To this narrative of Herodotus I shall subjoin some other accounts of the ancients respecting the origin of the Amazons, who became the wives of the Scythians and with them founded the nation of the Sauromatians or Sarmatians.—To the

north of the Caucasus dwelt in the remotest times the nation of the Mæotians, from which according to Skymnos of Chio the Sarmatians were descended. A colony of the same people went under Ilinus and Skolopitus to Asia Minor, settled on the coast of Cappadocia in the vicinity of the Thermodon, and inhabited the plains of Themiskire. There they for many years committed all sorts of depredations upon the neighbouring nations; till at length they united against these freebooters and cut them all in pieces. Their wives then flew to arms and defended themselves. They carried on the war for some time with success, but were at length conquered and dispersed by the Greeks; and part of them fled beyond the sea, not into their own country, but to the westward of the Tanais into the country of the Scythians. They thence removed with their new husbands to the east side of that river, where they continued to reside under the name of Mæotians.

There is a tribe of Scythians, says Hippocrates, inhabiting the coasts of the Palus Mæotis, who differ widely from the other tribes and are called Sauromatians. Their women ride, use the bow on horseback, and whilst unmarried go out to battle against the enemy: neither is it lawful for them to cease to be virgins till they have killed three of their foes. Their husbands before they marry fulfil the sacred duties which the customs of their country impose on them. Such of them as marry are not obliged to mount on horseback and to attend expeditions, unless necessity requires all without distinction to fly to arms. They want the right breast, for when they are very young their mothers burn it by the application of a hot brazen instrument expressly adapted to the purpose. This precaution augments the strength of the right shoulder and the right arm.

Skylax of Cariandria gives in his Periplus the following account of the Sauromatians:—Beyond the Tanais is the commencement of Asia, and the first nation you come to there on the sea-coast is that of the Sauromatians. The Gynaïko-Kratumenoi (that is, people ruled by women) are a tribe of the Sauromatians. The Mæotians border on the Gynaïko-Kratumenoi. The Sintians come next to the Mæotians, and extend beyond the Palus: among them are the following Greek towns —Phanagori, Kepi, the port of Ssind and Patha.

No writer is so explicit on the subject of the identity of the Sauromatians with the husbands of the Amazons, as Skymnos of Chio, who says:—The Palus Mæotis received its name from the nation of the Mæotians. Next to the Sauromatians come the Mæotians, and then the Jaxamates. Demetrius observes that they gave their name to the Palus Mæotis; and Ephorus says that they were the same as the

Sauromatians. It is conjectured that after the battle on the Thermodon the Amazons incorporated themselves with these Sauromatians, and that the latter hence received the name of Gynaïko-Kratumenoi, or people ruled by women *.

Strabo's account is as follows:—It is said that the Amazons formerly dwelt on the mountains beyond Albania. Theophanes, who accompanied Pompey in his expedition to Albania, at least asserts that the Albanians were separated by the Amazons from the Scythian tribes of the Legi and Geli, and that the river Mermadalis formed the boundary between those two tribes. But Skassius, Metrodotus, Hipsicrates and others who were well acquainted with the country, asserted that the Amazons were neighbours of the Gargarœans, who inhabit the northern foot of the Kraunian mountains.

These two opinions mentioned by Strabo come after all to the same point; for the Legi are the modern Lesgians, and the Geli the Inguschian tribe Galgai, and the Kraunian mountains are the northern ranges of the Caucasus as far as the Besch-tau. It is obvious then that the Amazons and their husbands must have resided in the Kabardah and the steppe of the Kuma, and have been separated by the Terek (Mermadalis) from the Lesgian and Kistian tribes. As they were Sauromatians from whom in all probability are descended the Ossetes, who likewise formerly resided further northward and are the Alanes of the middle ages, it plainly appears that the Amazons, Mœotians, Sauromatians, Alanes and Ossetes belonged to one and the same race of the descendants of Japhet, as I shall endeavour to render still more evident in the next volume.

It is impossible, I admit, that the Amazons could have existed long as a nation;

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* Thus Mela also states: Ripas ejus (Tanais) Sauromatæ et ripis hærentia possident. Una gens, aliquot populi, et aliquot nomina. Primi Mœotici γυναικοκρατουμενοι: regna Amazonum.—A little before he says:—Apud eos eadem artes fœminæ quas viri exercent, adeo ut ne militia quidem vacent. Viri pedibus merent, sagittisque depugnant: illæ equestre prælium ineunt. Nec ferro dimicant, sed quod laqueis intercepere, trahendo conficiunt. Nubunt tamen: verum ut nubiles habeantur, non in ætate modus est. Nisi quæ hostem interemere, virgines manent. Pomp. Mel. lib. i. cap. 19.

Gens (Sarmatiæ) habitu armisque Parthicæ proxima verum ut cœli asperioris, ita ingenii. Non se urbibus tenent, et ne stabulis quidem sedibus. Ut invitavere pabula, ut cedens et sequens hostis exigit, ita res operæque secum trahens, semper castra habitat: bellatrix, libera, indomita, et usque eo immanis atque atrox, ut fœminæ etiam cum viris bella ineant. Atque ut habiles sint natis statim dextra aduritur mamma. Inde expedita in ictus manus quæ exeritur, virile fit pectus. Arcus tendere, equitare, venari, puellaria pensa sunt: ferire hostem, adultorum stipendium est: adeo ut non percussisse, pro flagitio habeatur, fitque eis pœna virginitas.—Mela, lib. iii. cap. 4.

but their history as related by Herodotus has nothing incredible. Several parallel cases are upon record. Thus it was found that among the Caribs the men spoke one language and the women another. According to the oral traditions of that nation, the men are descended from the Galibes on the continent, who were neighbours and enemies of the Alonages, and who, having exterminated another tribe resident in the islands, afterwards intermarried with their women. A similar difference between the language of the men and women still exists among some of the nations of northern Asia and America. In the latter also the women formerly accompanied their husbands to war. This custom is still retained by many of the Caucasians. Thus, for instance, Father Lamberti tells us, in his *Relation de la Mingrélie*, that while he resided in that country the prince of it received a letter, informing him that a nation issuing from the Caucasian mountains had divided into three bodies, the strongest of which had attacked the country of the Moscovites, while the two others had fallen upon the settlements of the Ssuanes, Karatschioli and other tribes of the Caucasus; but that they had been repulsed, and many women found among their dead. The armour of these Amazons, which was very elegant and adorned after the female fashion, was even brought to the Dadian. It consisted of helmets, cuirasses and cuisses, composed of numerous small iron plates laid over one another. Those of the cuirasses and cuisses were so contrived as not to impede the motions of the body. To the cuirass was attached a female garment which reached to the waist, and was made of a woollen stuff of so beautiful a red that it might have been taken for scarlet. Their half boots were decorated with spangles not of gold but of brass, with a hole in the middle by which they were strung upon cords of goats' hair very strongly and curiously plaited. Their arrows were four spans in length, gilt, and armed with a piece of the finest steel, which did not terminate in a sharp point, but was three or four lines broad at the end, like the edge of a pair of scissars. Such were all the particulars that he could learn respecting these Amazons, who according to the report of the natives were engaged in frequent wars with the Calmucks. The Prince Dadian promised the Ssuanes and Karatschioli great rewards if they could bring him one of these females alive *.

Reineggs was the first who discovered the story of the Amazons among the Tscherkessians in the Caucasus. "The old people among the Tscherkassians," says he, "relate a fabulous story of their migration, from which I shall draw a par-

* *Recueil de Voyages au Nord*, tom. vii. p. 180.

ticular inference and submit it to the judgment of my readers.—When our ancestors, say they, still inhabited the shores of the Black Sea, they had frequent wars with the Emmetsch. These were women who inhabit the mountainous region at present belonging to the Tscherkassians and Soanes, and likewise possessed the whole plain to Aghlo-Ckaback. They received no men among them, but, full of military ardour, associated with themselves every female who was desirous to take part in their excursions, and to be admitted into this community of heroines. At last, after long wars carried on with various success, both armies within sight of one another were on the point of commencing a decisive engagement, when all at once the leader of the Emmetsch, who had the reputation of an extraordinary prophetess, requested an interview with Thulme, the commander of the Tscherkassians, who also possessed a spirit of prophecy. A tent was immediately pitched between both armies, and thither the prophet and prophetess repaired. After an interval of some hours the former came out and assured her female army, that convinced by the stronger arguments of Thulme she had yielded to them, and adopted them instead of her own; that she had therefore chosen the prophet for her husband, but upon condition that all hostilities should cease, and both armies follow the example of their leaders. This was agreed to. The women immediately desisted from military operations, kept the Tscherkassians with them as their husbands; and the latter, content with their wives, dispersed over the country which they now inhabit *."

All my endeavours to verify this tradition among the Tscherkessians proved unsuccessful. In this respect Count John Potocki was more fortunate, as he met with it among the bards of the Tscherkessians, only with this difference, that the Emmetsch are said to have been at war with the Nogays, whose prince was named Tul. That this is the Thulme of Reineggs cannot be doubted; and thus his Tscherkessians are transformed into Tartars.

What Herodotus relates concerning the Amazons is so far from improbable, that I shall even venture to explain the Scythian appellation of *Ayor-Pata* (men-murderers) assigned by him to them. Several historical writers have attempted to derive this term from the Tartar-Turkish; but none of them could proceed any further than *er*, which in that dialect signifies *man*. On the other hand they were obliged to consider *Pata*, to kill, as an onomatopoia. Even though that word cannot be perfectly explained from these languages, yet it is remarkable that in the Armenian tongue, which was formerly far more widely extended than at pre-

* Reineggs *Kaukasus* i. 238.

sent, *Air* signifies a man, and *Sban* or *Sbanogh**, a murderer, forming in one compound word *Ariousban* or *Ariousbanogh*, men-murderers. I shall not offer this derivation as any thing else than what it really is, an hypothesis: but it is not absolutely improbable that Herodotus received his account of the Sauromatians from the lips of an Armenian, and that he mistook the only barbarous term which occurs in this narrative for Scythian.

The name of Thermodon itself might possibly have originated with the Amazons; for I have already observed that in the Sarmatian language, as likewise among the modern Ossetes, who belong to that race, *Don* signifies water and river, in which acceptation it may have formed part of the word Thermodon. Thus we find among the Ossetes the following names for rivers: Arredon, Ursdon, Fainagidon, Dugordon, Iskati-Komi-don, &c.

Schober also informs us in his *Memorabilia Russico-Asiatica*, that in Daghestan he heard the story of the Amazons; which however seems to be fabulous. "Here," says he, "besides other tribes, formerly dwelt the intrepid Amazons. To be sure no traces of them are now to be met with; but the Armenian and Tartar traders relate that they have met with relics of these people on certain mountains in Great Tartary, and that they still bear the name of Emazuhn. It is said that they yet hold the men in complete subjection, keeping them merely for the meanest domestic services, and as bed-fellows. They are no longer addicted to military pursuits, but are passionately fond of the chase."

On the 24th of December we continued our route along the right bank of the Terek. We quitted Wladikawkas with a far smaller escort than had attended us thither, being accompanied by no more than 30 Cossacks and 12 Jägers. After proceeding four wersts we had the Inguschian village of Saukqua, now called by the Russians Ssaurowa, on our left. It is seated on the steep bank of the Terek, about two wersts from the first range of the Caucasus. No part of this village is to be seen from the valley, except a lofty conical tower built of very white calcareous stone. I rode up the hill to it, in order to examine it more closely. It had no door at the bottom, but a large oblong aperture at the height of about 12 feet, to which it was impossible to ascend without a ladder. My Cossacks, who had ridden forward, alarmed at this little circuit which I had made, turned back to protect me in case of need; so little confidence do they place even in those mountaineers with

* In Armenian, the verb *I kill* is *sbanamyel*, and its preterite *sbani*.

whom they are in friendship and alliance. Ssaurowa is inhabited by Inguschian and Ossetian refugees, almost all of whom live in wooden houses; but the latter surpass the former in number, so that the place might be termed an Ossetian with full as much propriety as an Inguschian village. At the distance of about a werst to the eastward, on the mountain is the village of Buschua, whence it is seven wersts more to the Great Ingusches. Five wersts from Saukqua, and consequently nine from Wladikawkas, we came to the Ossetian village of Baltasch, called by the Russians Balta, seated on the declivity of the chalk hill to the left of the Terek. A long wooden bridge, erected only a few years since, leads over that river, which we here crossed, and continued on the left side till we reached Dariela.

At the entrance of the valley of the Terek, which runs to the south-south-east, completely intersecting the northern Caucasus, the hills on the right and left are composed of lime-stone followed by clay-slate, and higher up the river by sienite. Beyond Dariela, formerly denominated the Caucasian Gate, on the frontiers of Georgia, the sienitic mountains cease, and here commences the basalt formation, which, interrupted more or less by hills of clay-slate, stretches away not only to the lofty mountains of the Caucasus, but likewise across those parts of its highest range, over which the traveller must pass in going from the valley of the Terek to that of the Aragwi, lying opposite to it in the south.

Below Baltasch there is a small plain in the valley, where the Ingusches pasture their sheep in summer, for which privilege they pay a small tax to the representative of the Ossetian family of Temir Ssulthan Ilaldi, to whom that village belongs. This part of the country abounds with lime-trees of extraordinary magnitude, with the bark of which the Cossacks and Russians on guard or at work erect huts to shelter themselves in summer from the frequent heavy showers that fall in the valley of the Terek; for when it once begins to rain in the mountains it is not very soon over. The vapours raised after rain by the heat of the sun from the earth and vegetables during the day, fall again in the evening as soon as the sun is set, because the atmosphere then becoming cool condenses them into drops. This alternate evaporation and condensation into rain continues till either the superabundant humidity is carried off by the rivers, or a rising tempest drives prodigious clouds towards the northern plain, and in general puts a speedy termination to the wet weather.

To the north of Baltasch, the little rivulet Senkagin runs into the left of the Terek. From that village I ascended the highest of the range of hills on the north side of this brook, where the barometer fell to 23 inches three lines, though as well before as after my ascent it stood at 25 inches in the bed of the Terek. In the intense

heat of summer the channel of the Senkagin is quite dry, but after heavy rain its current is much swollen. Its bed is composed of round, white, detached calcareous stones washed from the chalk-hill down whose side it descends. On the east side of the Terek, opposite to this rivulet, a spacious but tolerably elevated dale extends to the Kumbalei, in which are situated the habitations of the Ingusches. To the south of this dale, and of the Senkagin, the hills are considerably higher than to the north. Lofty bare pyramidal rocks, composed of nothing but lime-stone, are seen rearing their light-gray rugged heads. Such is their height that so early as towards the end of August, in rainy weather, snow falls upon them at night, though the heat is still very great in the valley. These dales are well wooded with timber-trees, consisting of oaks and limes, and among which the alder, so common further on in the mountains, is very rarely met with.

In a hollow tree near the rivulet Senkagin I found the nest of a dormouse (*Sciurus Glis*) which was here taking its winter repose. On the Terek this animal is unknown; but in Georgia it is said to be very common, and is there called Gnawi.

This little excursion took us some hours; and as we had set out late from Wladikawkas, we thought it advisable to pass the night at Baltasch, that we might not expose ourselves to an attack from the Ingusches or Ossetes. We were quartered with a Russian officer, who was himself an inmate of an Ossetian. The house was irregularly constructed of logs and trunks of trees, and was more like a shed than a human habitation; but yet we sat down with a keen appetite to our host's excellent beer and his mutton, the head of the sheep being set before us as his guests.

CHAPTER XXXI.

DEPARTURE FROM BALTASCH—NARROW PASS ON THE TEREK, CALLED ASSINTEH—BED OF THE RIVER—SSAU-DON—OSSETIAN GRAVE-STONES—VILLAGE OF DALLAG-KAU, OR KAITUCHOWA—ULAG ZMI-KAU, OR TSCHIM—CONSTRUCTION OF THE HOUSES IN THOSE VILLAGES—DIFFERENT SPECIES OF WILD GOATS—THE CAUCASIAN PARTRIDGE—SINGULAR DISEASE OF HORSES ATTRIBUTED TO NOXIOUS HERBS—THE VILLAGE OF LAARS—ORIGIN OF THE SCHIMITIAN OSSETES—PEDIGREE OF THEIR ELDERS—BRIDGE-TOLLS FORMERLY PAID TO THEM—THEIR DISSENSIONS WITH THE TSCHERKESSIANS OF THE LITTLE KABARDAH—NARROW VALLEY OF ARWEKUM—DARIELA, OR DAIRAN, THE CAUCASIAN GATE OF THE ANCIENTS—DESCRIPTION OF IT BY ANCIENT WRITERS—VILLAGE OF GELATHI, AND RIVULET DEFDAROKI—FALLS OF SNOW AT THAT PLACE—BASALT-MOUNTAINS—VILLAGE OF STO, OR PSEDO—STEPHAN-TZMINDA, OR KASBEK—QUARANTINE—BIVOUAC.

EARLY in the morning of the 25th of December we left Baltasch, with a small escort of 20 Jägers, and pursued our route along the left of the Terek. Our road led for four wersts through a wood of beeches and alders that covers the plain watered by the Terek, which is some hundred paces in breadth, and is bordered on either side with very lofty bare and perpendicular lime-stone rocks. At the end of this wood the river washes the foot of the steep western hill, which has been cut away so as to afford a passage overarched with rocks, but so narrow as to admit only two horsemen abreast. Formerly the traveller was obliged to cross here from the west to the east bank, and at the distance of a few hundred paces to ford the river a second time, in order to return to the former. At this place two bridges used to be annually constructed; but they never lasted longer than till the middle of May, the season for the periodical swelling of the river. In June, July, and August, these places were impassable; at such times the traveller was under the necessity of following a foot-path which ran along the steep west bank at an elevation of about 60 feet above the surface of the water. In this path at one very rugged and precipitous part of the rock a ladder of fifteen steps was placed nearly perpendicular, and could not be ascended without considerable danger. This spot is called Assinteh by the neighbouring Ossetes. It was one of the most difficult passes in the valley

of the Terek; but since the construction of the military road through the Caucasus to Tiflis, it has been rendered more convenient by exploding and cutting through the rock, a task the more easily accomplished, as it here consists of lime-stone only. Since the formation of this road the tolls also demanded by the Ossetes for keeping up the two bridges have been abolished. When the river is low, the water as you ride through reaches nearly up to the horse's belly; but these deep places are not above 10 or 15 paces broad, because the Terek divides into several branches, and has properly no banks in this part, but pursues its course sometimes in one channel, sometimes in another. The greatest depth of its current scarcely exceeds five feet; but such is its extreme rapidity, that no horse can keep his legs when the water rises higher than his belly.

The bed of the Terek is full of large globular stones, some of a brownish red, others green, violet-coloured, black, or white; so that the ground covered with them presents a singular and variegated spectacle. On the spots formerly inundated by its waters, these stones are found decomposed in the form of a fine sand, which was the more striking to the eye, as the ground just then was neither covered with herbage nor with snow.

Three wersts further, and consequently seven from Baltasch, we came to the rivulet Ssau-don, that is, Black-water, which runs from the south-west. On this rivulet in the plain surrounding the Terek is a redoubt built of rough stones, in which for several successive summers a small Russian corps has been stationed with one piece of cannon, but which was now unoccupied. In the plain opposite to this redoubt are two sand-stones in the shape of obelisks, erected close to one another. On the first of them is an Arabic inscription to the following effect:—"The Blessed, whose sins are forgiven, the Lord of these borders, Neni Merucka, the son of Ahhmed, the son of Ilaldi, God reward him. Amen. 1188 (A. D. 1774.)—Written by Mulla Isma'il." On the other are these words in the same language:—"The Blessed, whose sins are forgiven, the Lord of these borders, Hhassan, the son of Ahhmed, the son of Ilaldi, God reward him. Amen. 1188."

On the south side of the rivulet Ssau-don, about 120 feet above the level of the Terek, stands the Ossetian village of Dallag-kau, that is, the Lower Village. It is also named Baghiri-kau, after its founder Baghir, who was a son of Ilald, and is called by the Russians Nishnei Tschim, or Kaituchowa. Ulag Zmi-kau, or the Upper Village of Zmi, is named by the Russians Werchnoi Tschim, and is situated 180 feet higher on the Ssau-don. Dallag-kau is a mean place, composed of no more than about 20 huts, the walls of which are constructed of unhewn stones not

even cemented with mortar. The interstices are filled with earth or dung. The door of the house is likewise the entrance to the dwelling-room, which has no other aperture for the admission of light. On the contrary, Werchnoi Tschim, likewise called Tschim only, by way of eminence, is far more considerable, and contains about a hundred families. The houses, however, occupy but a very small space, being built close together and in streets. They consist of four walls, constructed of rough stones, and scarcely exceeding six feet in height. The roof, which is quite flat, is formed of fir rafters covered with clay. In the centre of it is placed a tube composed of wicker-work, and plastered with clay and cow-dung, to carry off the smoke of the fire burning in the middle of the room. By this chimney also the latter receives all its light when the door is shut. Beside and between the dwelling-houses are the stables and beast-houses, partly constructed with logs and partly of wattle-work. In every village you meet with one or more quadrangular towers, which serve as places of refuge in time of war, as I have already observed in treating of the Ingusches. The stones of these structures are cemented with mortar, which is extremely tenacious, as the people here never use fresh-made lime, but leave it exposed a year or more to the air in the pit where it was burned, that it may fall to pieces of itself, by which means it is rendered much more binding than when the quick-lime is immediately slaked with water. This practice, which was formerly very strictly followed in some parts of Germany in the erection of public edifices, ought to be universally adopted.

In summer the corn-fields in this part of the country are much frequented by the mountain-ravens, which have a blood-red bill and legs, and which I met with in great numbers in Northern Mongolia and at Kiachta in Siberia. Here I saw likewise a female chamois (*Capra rupicapra*) which had been shot by the Ossetes, who call it in their language *Dsabiter*. These animals are very frequent here, and may be seen running and bounding on the most elevated crags. Besides them, there are in the lofty Caucasian mountains two other species of wild goats, one of which is the common Ibex. This last, called by the Ossetes *Bodsh*, is not so numerous as the other; it is met with between the Terek and Kumbalei, especially in a tract of pasturage named Uagau. The second, for which the Russians have no other name than wild goat, is named by the Georgians *Dshichwi*, and roves about all over the mountains in herds; it resembles a goat in shape, but is much larger, and has long beautiful horns. These Dshichwi climb the most elvated rocks, which are inaccessible to every other animal; and in winter they lie down on the highest peaks with their

faces to the wind, being insensible to the most intense cold. Their flesh is very dainty, and resembles venison.

The Caucasian partridge, called in Georgian *Schurthchi*, is spread over the whole of this mountainous region, and resembles in figure a common partridge, but is frequently larger than a hen. It collects a stock of herbs for the winter, but is generally robbed of them by the wild goats, and then it is reduced to the necessity of subsisting upon the dung of those plunderers.

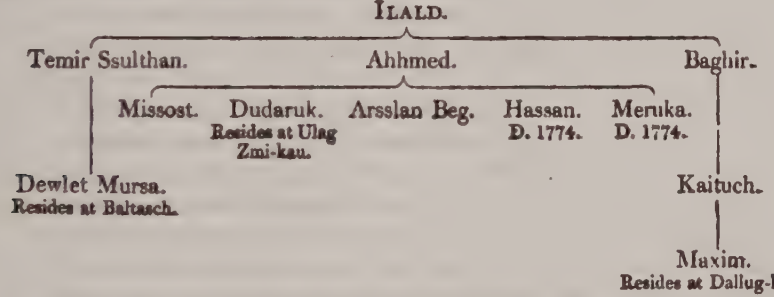
Though we were obliged to use all possible dispatch in order to reach Stephan-Tzminda before night-fall, yet we were detained longer than we wished at Tschim by an unpleasant accident. One of my pack-horses fell ill, and grew quite furious. He kicked out with his hind-legs, stamped upon the ground, and ran against the walls. He trembled in every joint, and was bathed in sweat. He staled much, the urine being of a dark yellow, and frequently broke wind. His respiration, however, was unobstructed; and the Ossetes told me that this disorder was occasioned by a kind of poisonous plant, which had been very frequent among the hay the preceding year. To prevent, therefore, any inflammation of the stomach, the Cossacks gave him milk and gunpowder, and took some blood from him. These precautions proved unavailing, for in about an hour the animal died. On opening him no symptoms of inflammation were discovered, either in the chest or abdomen. The stomach was crammed full of hay, which he had eaten; but the intestines were empty, and distended with wind. The Tartars call this disease *horse-death*.

This accident threw me into some embarrassment, as another pack-horse was not immediately to be procured; so that we were under the necessity of hiring Ossetes to carry part of the load, and to lay the remainder on the other horses. I was obliged to pay three porters for the short distance to Laars (a good German mile) four silver rubles.

About noon we arrived at Laars, likewise called Gors by the Ossetes. It is the last Ossetian village before you reach the frontiers of Georgia, and is situated on the rivulet Laars-don, which empties itself into the left of the Terek. Near it, on a steep eminence, has been erected a strong redoubt, which is defended by two battalions of infantry and four pieces of cannon, under the command of a Major.

The whole tract from Baltasch to Laars is called Schimit by the Ossetes, who reside in it; and the villages of Baltasch, Dallag-kau, Ulag Zmi-kau, and Laars, belong to the family of Slonateh, originally settled in the Walagirian village of Bad on the river Fiag. Ilald, the progenitor of this new branch of the family of Slonateh,

fled from that place about seventy years since, and established himself on the Terek, where he founded the village of Ulag Zmi-kau or Tschim. His son, the late Ahhmed, continued to reside there with his parents; but his two brothers, Temir Ssulthan and Baghir, separated from them, and each founded a distinct village, the former Baltasch, and the other Dallug-kau or the Lower Village. These places belong to their descendants. Tschim, the mother of these settlements, at present belongs to one of Ahhmed's sons, named Dudaruk; at Dallug-kau resides Maxim Slonatch; and at Baltasch the notorious Dewlet Mursa, known to the Russians by the name of Dewletka, who was accustomed to share his booty with Count Iwelitsch, the former governor of Wladikawkas; for which reason that officer suffered him to commit any depredations with impunity. The pedigree of the family of the Schimitian elders is therefore as follows:



These Ossetes formerly paid tribute to the Ingusches, who claimed a right to this country; but they were gradually reinforced by new-comers and fugitives from the mountains, so that they now account themselves as belonging to the Tagaurian Ossetes, and no longer pay any impost. Before the construction of the military road, they obtained annually one hundred shirts from the Russians on account of the bridges over the Terek between Laars and Dariela. These bridges, however, frequently composed only of two long beams laid close together, were often carried away, the very day after they were placed there, by the torrent, which here runs with incredible impetuosity, hurrying along large fragments of rock in its course. The roaring of its foaming waves is so loud, that even at the distance of twenty paces from the bank it is impossible to understand what is said by a person standing close to you, however he may exert himself. Since the completion of the military road, the traveller coming from Wladikawkas has but three bridges over the Terek to pass, whereas only ten years ago their number amounted to seventeen.

After the Ossetes of Baltasch, Tschim, Dallag-kau, and Laars, had relieved themselves from the tribute to the Inguschеs, they paid it till about thirty years back to the Tscherkessian princes of the tribe of Mudar (Muldarete) in the Little Kabardah. At that time the eldest son of Ahhmed of Tschim, named Missost, killed the Tscherkessian prince Alchest Muldarate, who had attempted to carry off his sister by force. Since that period all these villages have been independent; for the Schimitian Ossetes live in constant enmity with the Tscherkessians, by whom they are made prisoners whenever they venture to appear in the Kabardah, and sold for slaves. The fourth brother of this Missost, named Arslan-beg, whose *kunak*, or guest, the Tscherkessian prince was, revenged his blood by the death of his brother, whom he shot with a pistol whilst asleep in a watch-tower, and then fled to the Inguschеs, among whom he yet lives with his family.

Opposite to Istir Zmi or Ulag Zmi-kau reside two Ossetian families on the Makal-don, (in Inguschian Mukila,) which falls into the right of the Terek, in the village of Scharache-kau, which, strictly speaking, is composed of two villages, the Zurateh and Lenateh. Higher up the Makal-don, to the west, are settled Inguschеs, who border on the Gudamaqari and the Pschawi, and like them are great robbers.

We continued on the left bank of the Terek after leaving Laars, from which place it is six wersts to Dariela. When we had proceeded four we came to another very narrow defile, where the Terek washes the foot of a high perpendicular rock, through which a passage has been wrought: it now forms half an arch, over which the traveller was formerly obliged to clamber. The valley in this place is extremely narrow, and bears the name of Bachtari among the Georgians, but is called by the Ossetes Arwe-Kum, that is, Valley of Heaven's Rocks, because the rocks on either side seem to tower to the very sky, and render it impervious, except only at the hour of noon, to the rays of the sun.

We crossed the rivulets Churmuk and Tschat-don, and two wersts further came to the ruins of the ancient fortress of Dariela, of which a few traces only yet remain on the left of the Terek, as the rocks on which it stood were partly blown up on the construction of the military road. It was most advantageously situated on a rock, the foot of which was washed by the Terek. The valley in this place is not above 120 yards in breadth, and is bounded on either side by a steep and lofty hill. On the west side were formerly to be seen remains of the wall that ran across it. In the east side of the rock, next to the Terek, steps were hewn for the convenience of fetching water, and below the fortress were traces of gardens and fruit-trees, though

the place has long been deserted. Dariela, called by the Ossetes Dairan, lies on the frontiers of Georgia, on the rivulet Zach-don, which empties itself into the left of the Terek. Opposite to that place the Achkara falls into its right, and a road runs along the latter, through the country of the Mukil and the Ingusches, into K'achethi to the sources of the Ulasoni, which is named Achkara or Girgi. The mountains here are composed of sienite intermixed with a few particles of glimmer; and close to Dariela, on the left side of the Terek, of green stone of the porphyry kind.

According to the History of Georgia, Dariela was built by the third King Mirwan or Mirman, who reigned from 167 to 123 before Christ, to protect his dominions against the inroads of the Chasari, who inhabited the northern districts of the Caucasus. The name Dariela seems to be of Tartar origin, for *Dar* or *Thar* signifies narrow, and *jol* or *jöl* a way; consequently *Darjöl* means a narrow pass: and the valley is actually so narrow that 300 men might here, as at Thermopylæ, easily withstand ever so numerous an army. At a little distance to the north of Dariela is reported to have formerly stood a royal palace, and to the south a fortress upon a rock, on the east side of the Terek, constructed by the Georgian King Davith IV. of the family of Bagration, who was surnamed Aghma Schenebeli, or the Builder, and reigned from 1089 to 1130. Of the latter, nothing but a few ruins is now to be seen.

Dariela, likewise called by the Georgians Chewis-K'ari, or the Gate of Chewi*, is without doubt the Caucasian Gate so celebrated among the ancients, of which Pliny gives the following description†:—"In the country of these people (the people of Iberia, the Diduri and Ssodi,) are the Caucasian Gates, which by many are very erroneously called the Caspian—a prodigious work of nature, between abrupt precipices, where are gates closed with iron bars, under which runs the river Diri odoris. On this side of it, upon a rock, stands a castle which is called Cumania, and is so strongly fortified as to be capable of withstanding the passage of an innumerable army." This description is not only perfectly applicable to Dariela, but the very Georgian name *Thergiss mdinare*, the river Tergl (Terek), seems to be disguised in the appellation Diri odoris. The country on the west side of Dariela is yet called by the Ossetes Koban, which reminds you of the fortress of Cumania mentioned by Pliny.

Procopius has fallen into the error which Pliny here censures, in giving to the Caucasian Gate the name of the Caspian: his description of these parts is never-

* Chewi is the Georgian name of the upper part of the valley of the Terek.

† Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. vi. cap. 9.

theless extremely correct. "Mount Taurus in Cilicia," says he, "first runs into Cappadocia, and thence into Armenia, Persarmenia, Albania, and Iberia, and the people resident around it are partly free, and partly dependent on Persia. It keeps increasing in magnitude, and it is incredible how much it augments both in breadth and height the further it extends. Beyond the frontiers of Iberia is a narrow road which leads through the most elevated valleys, a distance of fifty stadia, and is so closely shut up by steep and inaccessible rocks that scarcely any outlet is to be seen. There nature has formed a pass which you would suppose to have been constructed by art, and which is distinguished by the ancient appellation of the Caspian Gate. From this place extends a well-watered level tract, and the whole country is well adapted to the breeding of horses, as it contains many spacious plains. Here dwell almost all the tribes known by the name of Huns, and their settlements extend to the Palus Mæotis: these, when they pass the above-mentioned gate to attack the Romans or Persians, mount fresh horses, and make not the smallest circuit, as they have only this distance of fifty stadia to go before they reach the Iberian frontiers. If they pursue any other road they have to endure great fatigue, being obliged to leave their horses behind, and to steal through the winding and deep defiles between the mountains.

"Alexander, the son of Philip, being made acquainted with these circumstances, fortified this avenue with gates, and built a castle which, after it had passed through various hands, at length came into the power of Ambazukes, by birth a Hun, who was a friend of the Romans and of the Emperor Anastasius. Being very old, and feeling that he had not long to live, he sent a messenger to Anastasius, offering for a sum of money to deliver the Castle and Caspian Gate to the Romans. Anastasius, who was a prudent prince and did nothing without due consideration, foresaw that it would be impossible to supply the soldiers there with provisions, as the whole adjacent country was a waste, and not inhabited by any nation in subjection to the Romans: he therefore returned his sincere thanks to Ambazukes for his friendly intentions, but declined the offer. Soon afterwards Ambazukes died; and when his sons had been dispossessed of this castle by force, Kabades (king of Persia) made himself master of the gates."

Dairun, the Ossetian name of Dariel, is even preserved by the Byzantine historians; for when Zemarches, who was sent A. D. 569 to the Turkish Chan at Ektag (the Altai mountains), was returning to Constantinople, and came to the country of the Alanes, who resided to the north of the Caucasus, their leader Sarodius advised him not to travel through the territories of the Mindimiani, because

the Persians were lying in wait for him in the country of the Suanes, but rather to proceed home by the *Darinian* way. Zemarches, on receiving this intelligence, sent ten pack-horses loaded with purple through Mindimiania, that they might fall into the hands of the Persians, and induce them to believe that it was part of his baggage which had been sent forward, and that he himself would soon follow. Zemarches then went by the Darinian road to Apsilia, (in the modern Mingrelia,) leaving the country of the Mindimiani on the right*.

A tolerable road leads from Dariela to the Zarch-don, called by the Georgians Defdaroki, which rises to the west of the Mquinwari, the highest mountain of the snowy range, and falls into the left side of the Terek. Almost every seven years the ice and snow detached from the foot of this mountain roll along the Defdaroki into the Terek, which being obstructed by them rises to a prodigious height before it can break through the dam. In 1779 all the inhabitants of the village of Gelathi, which is situated more than 120 feet above the Terek, were on the point of leaving their houses, because the river had been choked up for three days, and the water had risen to their habitations. A similar circumstance occurred in the month of August 1808.

Not far from the Defdaroki, and two wersts from the present Russian fortress of Dariel, where we crossed the Terek by a bridge, and afterwards continued on the right of that river, is situated the above-mentioned village of Gelathi, or Giuleti, on the declivity of the mountain: it is a miserable place, inhabited by indigent Ossetes, who belong to the Tagaurian tribe. Below Gelathi is a small meadow, and near it a cavern where travellers overtaken by darkness used to pass the night. In the months of May, June, and July, till the middle of August, when the current is deep and rapid, and when the former wretched bridges across the Terek could not be preserved, it was customary for the traveller to pursue the Merchants' Road, as it is called, which leads over the mountains on the west side of the river, along the brook Zach-don, and thence to Tschim. Though rather incommodious, and frequently impassable in July and August on account of the melting of the snow; yet in case of necessity you may take even horses along it, only they must be unloaded. This road is denominated by the Ossetes Besergon. Another road which conducts from the Kabardah to Georgia runs along the river Fiag, across the Ossetian districts of Kurtal and Saka, and comes out again near the source of the Terek, in the country of the Ossetian tribe Tirssau.

* In the text it stands *on the left*, but this is evidently a mistake of the author.

In this vicinity the basalt which covers the principal range is remarkably obvious, and mountains composed of basaltic columns rear their heads on every side to the clouds. The basalt is partly black with white spots, partly of a reddish brown with yellow spots. The whole aspect of the mountains here is extremely wild, and attests no very ancient convulsions. One of these near Gelathi, which is of a conical shape and truncated at top, is particularly worthy of notice: the basalt of which it consists is of the most beautiful columnar form. These basaltic pillars when detached are each above a foot thick, and, excepting a slight inclination to the centre or axis of the mountain, stand nearly perpendicular. The nature of the stone differs: in some places it is more compact, and in others more porous.

After we had passed the bridge of Dariela we continued on the right of the Terek to Stephan-Tzminda. A plan has recently been proposed for erecting a stone bridge of one arch over the river at the former place; but it will be long before it is executed, as intelligent workmen are very scarce, and those persons to whom the care of the military road is committed are more intent on filling their own pockets in a short time than on promoting the public interest.

Two wersts from Gelathi we had on the left of the Terek the village of Sto, which the Ossetes call Psedo. At length we arrived late at night at the Georgian village of Stephan-Tzminda, 11 wersts from Dariela. Stephan-Tzminda, which signifies St. Stephen, is called by the Ossetes Ssena, and by the Russians Kasbek, because it is the residence of a Georgian nobleman, of the family of Tzobikhani schwili, denominated Dshobikata by the Ossetes, whose ancestors long since received from the Georgian kings the title of Kasbek or Kasibeg: he holds the office of circular-captain and receiver-general of the taxes of the district of Chewi.

Notwithstanding the extreme fatigue of ourselves and our horses the inspector of quarantine would not admit us into the quarantine-house on account of the lateness of the hour, and because he would not give himself the trouble to get out of bed for our sakes: we had therefore no other alternative than to pass the night between the 25th and 26th of December in the open air, after we had crossed by the bridge at Stephan-Tzminda to the left side of the Terek. The circular valley was here surrounded by rocks which reared their summits to the skies, and exhibited with their snows a truly romantic spectacle in the moon-light. Whilst enjoying our roast mutton and some excellent punch, we felt the less regret at our exclusion from the close and filthy quarantine; and in truth I have spent few nights so agreeably as this; for our Lesgian felt-cloaks afforded sufficient protection from the cold, which was not even rendered unpleasant by any keenness in the wind.

CHAPTER XXXII.

ENVIRONS OF STEPHAN-TZMINDA — CHURCH NEAR THE VILLAGE OF GERGETHI — LOFTY SNOWY MOUNTAIN OF MQINWARI, ERRONEOUSLY DENOMINATED KASBEK BY THE RUSSIANS — UNPARDONABLE MISTAKE IN THE PODROBNAJA KARTA — FORMATION OF MQINWARI — CAVERNS CALLED BETHLEEMI — FABULOUS ACCOUNTS OF THEM — PRETENDED ASCENT OF THE MQINWARI BY A GEORGIAN PRIEST — WALL OF BASALT NEAR STEPHAN-TZMINDA — KOBI — DISTRICT OF CHEWI — ATSCHCHOTISS-CHEWI — ANCIENT CHURCH OF GARBANI — PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE VALLEY OF THE TEREK — SOURCES OF THAT RIVER IN MOUNT CHOCHI — ITS BRANCHES — DEPARTURE FROM KOBI — TETRI-TZQALI, OR WHITE WATER, THE EASTERN SOURCE OF THE TEREK — MINERAL SPRING OF GUBTA — THE CROSS-MOUNTAIN — PASSAGE OVER THE SNOWY MOUNTAINS — VALLEY OF THE ARAGWI — DISTRICT OF GUDA — KAISCHAURT-K'ARI — GEORGIAN WINE — TSCHURTS'CHELA.

THE next morning, December 26th, when the inspector of the quarantine and the surgeon had slept themselves sober, they came to me to apologize for their incivility the preceding night, and invited us to breakfast at the quarantine-house; which we of course declined. I availed myself of the morning to explore the adjacent country on horseback. On the left side of the Terek, opposite to Stephan-Tzminda, is seated the Georgian village of Gergethi at the foot of a high and steep hill, whose summit is crowned by a stone church in the Greek style, built according to tradition by the Georgian Queen Thamar, and still in good preservation. It is called Tzminda Ssameba, or the Holy Trinity. It has an arched cupola, and in it is said to be deposited the cross of the female saint Nino*.

Behind this hill rises the high snowy peak of the Mqinwari†, which is called by the Ossetes Zeristi Zub, Christ's Mountain, or Urs-choch; that is, the White Road·

* According to Reinegg, (ii. 82) this church, agreeably to an ancient custom, is opened but once a year, which is at Easter, and is said to contain besides other curiosities a hyacinthine crystal reported to be twenty inches high and eighteen thick. Though Reinegg was there five times, but never at Easter, he could not obtain a sight of the interior of the edifice; for he failed in all his attempts to prevail upon the priest to open the church at an unusual time. Gergethi is said to be the name of a saint, male or female, who performed many miracles.

† *Mqinwari* signifies Ice-mountain, and is derived from the Georgian word *Qinuli*, ice.

but the Russians give it, as well as the village of Stephan-Tzminda, the appellation of Kasbek. In the *Podrobnaja Karta* this mountain is not laid down at all; but the name of Kasbek is assigned to the Chochi, situated to the south-west of it, where the Terek and other rivers take their rise—an error the more unpardonable as government possesses very minute surveys of the valley of the Terek.

The Mqinwari is without doubt the next in height to the Elbrus of the whole snowy range of the Caucasian mountains: it is probably equal in size to Mont Blanc, if however it does not exceed the latter. Its figure is that of a sugar-loaf, and it is covered nearly to its base with everlasting snow and ice. So high as it can be ascended, that is to say, to the commencement of the snowy region, the stone consists of red basaltic porphyry and clay-porphyry, intermixed more or less with vitreous feldspar, which in some places predominates over the principal mass, and a small portion of glimmer. Though the chief mass of this porphyry seems in a mineralogical point of view to be a distinct fossil from basalt, it is nevertheless very nearly allied to the latter, and composes one formation with the basaltic porphyry proper, into the principal mass of which it not unfrequently changes. Where the principal mass ceases, a species of hornblend, which appears sometimes in small, at others in very diminutive reddish brown and brownish red crystals, specifically different from the basaltic, is exclusively peculiar to this stone. This kind of porphyry occurs very frequently in the bed of the Terek.

Above the foot of the Mqinwari are excavations called in Georgian Bethleemi, the access to which is extremely difficult. Tradition reports that they were formerly inhabited by pious recluses. Here is said to be suspended an iron chain by which you can ascend to the cradle of Christ and the tent of Abraham, constructed without either poles or cords.

According to other fabulous accounts, buildings of marble and crystal, standing upon the snow itself, are here to be seen; these are probably masses of ice, which form all sorts of figures of palaces and towers. Greek monks who pretended to have reached the very summit of the mountain, might with impunity palm upon the credulous all sorts of fictions respecting the wonderful objects to be met with there, and among the rest the tale of a golden dove which hovers self-supported in the midst of one of the buildings.

When Reineggs was in Georgia, an aged priest, who gave out that he was perfectly acquainted with the way to the church on the Mqinwari, offered to go thither accompanied by a young man of his own order, and was warmly encouraged by King Irak'li, who particularly charged him to bring away the treasures which according to report existed there. He furnished them with an abundant supply of

provisions for the journey, and after an absence of some weeks the young priest returned exulting with the intelligence that "he had not been able (probably on account of his juvenile sins) to ascend the mountain: the elder therefore desired him to wait at its foot in constant prayer till he should come back. At last, on the seventh day, the old man rejoined him, and related that he had actually found every thing as described, and the treasure, which was immensely rich; but that the time for removing it had not yet arrived, though it was not far distant. He enjoined him meanwhile to go to the king and deliver to him the necessary testimonials of the truth of his story, and to think no more about him, as he should repair again to the mountain to end his days in the celestial society of the angels; upon which he actually returned thither." The testimonials which he brought back with him consisted of a rag of old worn-out linen, said to have been cut from the tent; a piece of rotten wood which had belonged to the cradle, and some paras of the time of Ssulthan Selim I. These palpable evidences of the grossest falsehood and deception were nevertheless received with great reverence, and in particular a piece of white marble with large red spots, which was deemed the more sacred as it was reported to have been broken off the altar. The most extraordinary circumstance attending this adventure was, that the old priest never made his appearance again. He probably perished in a snow-rift, and his companion kept his fate secret, in order to give the more importance to his story, and to obtain credit for it at least for one generation.

A little to the west of Stephan-Tzminda, behind the village, lies the mountain of Kuro, which bounds the valley on this side, and a small distance to the south of it is the mass of basalt composed of perpendicular columns, called by the Georgians Ghurginiss mtha, that is, Crown-mountain, of which Reineggs has given a paltry delineation. Near this mountain the rivulet Tsch'cheri, on which is seated the village of Torgaii, falls into the right of the Terek.

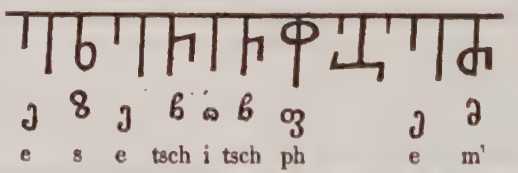
It was about eleven A. M. when we set out from Stephan-Tzminda and Gergethi. We continued about an hour on the left of the Terek, through which we then rode. The river here divides in a fertile plain into several very shallow branches; and after proceeding for two hours along its east bank we reached the Ossetian village of Kobi, which is protected by a redoubt with a considerable garrison of infantry, and is 16½ wersts from Stephan-Tzminda.

In this space there are several villages on both sides of the river, which in summer is bordered all the way by corn-fields. The whole district from Daricla to Kobi is called by the Georgians Chewi or Mochewi, but by the Ossetes Sona or

Ssena. It comprehends 23 villages, of which the following 14 lie on the west side of the Terek from north to south:—Golet, properly Gelathi; Sto, (in Ossetian Psedo); Gergethi, on the rivulet Gergetedon; Panschethi; Arscha, or Arschari, with the ruins of a strong castle seated on a steep rock, which, as tradition reports, was not built by human hands; Tothi; Kabotheni; Karschethi; Ghorisziche, (that is, Hogs' Castle); Pchelsche; Churtissi; Mna; Kanobi, and Tolgoti. On the east side are situated the following:—Stephan-Tzminda; Sno; Achalziche, (that is, New Castle); Atschchothi; Garbani; Ssioni; Zueli Kobi, (in Ossetian Sserind Kobi, which signifies Old Kobi); Kobi, and Uchate. The inhabitants of these villages, all of which are small, and may be computed to contain upon an average scarcely 20 families each, are Georgians intermixed with Ossetes; but the people of Gelathi are said to be Kists of the tribe of Mukil or Makal on the Makal-don, whence they removed many years ago, and settled in that place. They consequently speak also the Inguschian dialect of the Kist, or Mitzdshegian language; but, like all the above-mentioned villages, they were subject to Georgia, as they now are to Russia; and are, as I have already observed, under the jurisdiction of the Maurowi or circular-captain of Stephan-Tzminda, whose name is Gabriel, and who belongs to the family of Tzobikhana.

Four wersts beyond Stephan-Tzminda, the rocky dale with the river Atschchothi, called by the Georgians Atschchothisschewi, opens into the right side of the valley of the Terek. In it is situated the fortress of Gudschauri, which gives name to its inhabitants, who are a race of pagans and robbers. Through this dale a road leads along the river to the Gudamaqari, and higher up towards its source, to the country of the Tuschi in K'achethi.

In the mountains to the north-east of the village of Ssioni, and eastward of Garbani on the rivulet Chachmena-don, is situated an ancient church, very regularly built of hewn stones, which is likewise called Garbani. Over the entrance of this edifice I found an inscription in old Georgian characters, all the letters of which I could make out excepting the third from the end, and of which I annex a copy in new characters, denominated *Kedruli*:—



e s e tsch i tsch ph e m'

None of my attendants could explain the signification of this word.

Near the village of Kobi, on a considerable eminence to the east, is another church called Tzminda Giorgi, that is, St. George. Respecting Kobi and Uchate I should observe that these villages, belonging to the district of Chewi, are inhabited by Tagaurian Ossetes*; as are also the banks of the Terek from those places to its sources by the Ossetian nation of Tirssau, denominated by the Georgians Tursso, which I visited in 1808.

To these geographical details I shall subjoin what relates to the physical description of the valley of the Upper Terek. The direction of the road, and consequently of the whole valley from Tschim to Kobi, is south, with a slight inclination to the west, which is most considerable between Stephan-Tzminda and Kobi, but can scarcely be called south-south-west. This line of road cannot be computed at more than 17 wersts, neither are the Cossacks paid for a greater distance for their horses. Streams issuing from the ravines in the high mountains on either side, discharge themselves at intervals of a few hundred paces into the Terek. The river Zach-don, called in Georgian Defdaroki, is one of the largest, and comes from the west about a werst below Gelathi. A little lower down the rivulet Achkare, in Georgian Chde, near which is found lead-ore, runs from the east. Three wersts above Stephan-Tzminda, the Zno-don, denominated by the Georgians Kaesurethi, likewise falls into the east side of the Terek. Along and to the south of it resides the nation of Chewsurethi, in the villages of Kargutscha, Miguda, Art'chmo, and some others. Still further eastward, at the source of the Alasani which traverses K'achethi, is settled the tribe of the Tuschi, who are likewise named Gudan by the Ossetes. These tribes are neither Christians nor Mohammedans; and though they speak Georgian, they use also a peculiar language of their own, which is called Zoa, and is a dialect of the Old Georgian intermixed with many Kistish words.—About four wersts above Zno-don the rivulet Techena comes from the mountains on the east; and still higher on the same side the Uchatedon empties itself near a village of that name into the right of the Terek. At the influx of this river, the Terek takes a totally different direction from what it has previously pursued. Proceeding due east, it issues from a broad ravine in which it takes its rise on the snowy mountain of Chochi, where the Fiag also, which runs northward, and is about 20 wersts to the west of Kobi, has its source. To this Terek, which comes from the west, the Georgians give likewise the name of Aragwi; and indeed we may without any impropriety assign a distinct appellation to

* The Ossetes of the tribe of Tagate, called in Georgian Tagauri, and in Tscherkessian Tegei, reside on the upper parts of the rivers Kizill and Gual-don, in the villages of Ulag-and Dallag-Schaniba, the two villages of Kani, at Indag Tumane-Kau, Ribbankak Tumane-Kau, and Darghaffa.—Reineggs denominates this tribe Takaür, and translates its name, the *Reigning*; deriving it in the most unjustifiable manner from the Armenian, in which Tagáur signifies a prince. (Rein. i. 223.)

this river coming from the west, and insist that its union with the Uchate-don and the Urs-don forms the Terek, which hence proceeds almost due north through the mountains. The Urs-don, or White river, in Georgian Tethri-tzqali, rises in the snowy mountain of Guda, runs in the middle of a spacious ravine from south-south-west, and falls, near Kobi, into the right of the Terek above the Uchate-don. Its water is perfectly white, and in it are frequently found red and white rock-crystals washed down from the mountains by the snow-water. The Terek has no actual cataracts; but its whole course as far as beyond Tschim might almost be termed one single fall, as the elevation from which it descends is very considerable indeed.

Let us now take some notice of the mineral formations which occur on the road from Tschim to Kobi. At Tschim the lime-stone ceases, or, to speak more correctly, it begins there and runs along with the northern branch of the mountains. The breadth of this northern range of lime-stone is about 15 wersts, in a line from south to north. The slate, which runs higher than the lime-stone, and where it joins the latter is itself somewhat calcareous, effervesces with acids, is of a dark brown colour, and not very compact, extends from Tschim in a ground-line of about eight wersts. Further southward, however, it becomes still blacker, somewhat approaching to blue, does not effervesce, and is extremely compact. The slate is succeeded by sienite, granite, basalt, and basaltic porphyry, of which the principal chain and the snowy range are composed. The red coarse-grained granite is more rare; and near Dariela occurs a species streaked with serpentine intermixed with feldspar, so that in many places it forms genuine *verd-antique*. These formations lie in prodigious strata alternately one above another, so that on the side of the abrupt precipice which borders the Terek, broad stripes sometimes of iron-gray, at others of a red brown, or apple-green, meet the eye. To these masses originally belonged the roundish variegated stones found in and near the Terek from Tschim to Tartartup, which have been detached, carried away, and worn smooth by the current. Fragments of slate are not to be seen among them, partly because they are of such large dimensions, and quite flat, and consequently cannot be carried along by the water; partly because they are easily decomposed by that element, and soon ground to pieces by the force of the stream. Hence probably originates the black glistening sand deposited by the Terek in the vicinity of the northern lime-stone mountains.

Near Kobi is the remarkable basalt rock which Reineggs has delineated in the first volume of his Description of the Caucasus, and characterized as a hill composed of brown columns of a species of schörl. In the second volume he styles it, in still more indefinite terms, brown, compact basaltic granite. This rock is actually composed of basaltic porphyry, exhibiting columnar masses which lie in a horizontal direction.

On the 26th of December, about two P. M., we started from Kobi, and prepared to climb the snowy range, which we hoped to be able to descend before night. We left the Uchate-don behind us on the east, and the Terek on the west, and followed the course of the Tetri-tzqali, which issues from the mountains, at first on the east and afterwards on the west side. In about an hour and a half after we had left Kobi, consequently when we had proceeded about six wersts, we came to a cascade on the west side of the above-mentioned brook, where the water falls from a rock about 120 feet high, and has covered the whole height from which it descends with a wavy calcareous tuff, and deposited a yellowish red iron-ochre on the sides. This spring, called Gubta, is about 18 feet broad, but only two or three deep. It rises in a small plain surrounded with slate-hills, which are in summer covered with grass, and about 240 feet higher. The water bubbles up without noise in several places, and at length tumbles in a sheet about 20 paces in breadth from the precipice above described into the Tetri-tzqali. In any other place this water, which here runs absolutely to waste, might be turned to considerable advantage; for it nearly resembles Seltzer, except that it contains a still greater proportion of carbonic acid gas. The taste is rather alkaline than chalybeate.

To the north of the spring of Gubta, along the river, especially on its east side, and also beyond its mouth along the Terek to the influx of the brook Techena, near the village of Ssioni, are small chalybeate springs, which deposit an iron-ochre of a species that I had not hitherto observed during my travels.

You pass the Tetri-tzqali by an old bridge formed of snow precipitated from the mountains, under which the current runs with a hollow roar, as it is in summer augmented by the gradual melting of the snow. For an hour and a half we continued ascending from the spring of Gubta, till we reached a small plain, which in summer is covered with herbage, and is surrounded by hills that are neither steep nor high. Here is the source of the river which we had hitherto followed, called by the Ossetes Urs-don, and by the Georgians Tetri-tzqali, both which appellations signify White Water. We were now upon Mount Guda, commonly called the Cross-Mountain, in Russian Chrestowoi Gora, and in Georgian Dshuarwake. Our road led along the brink of a precipice, into which the first false step of our horses was liable to throw us. One of my attendants experienced this misfortune, but escaped with a slight contusion. We still kept ascending till we arrived at the stone cross erected on the highest point of the road, nine wersts from Kobi, which commands the most extensive views on every side. Here the weary traveller in general reposes, and performs his devotions for having passed without accident this dangerous road. On

the west rose the lofty snow-mountain of Chochi, whence issue the Terek and several other rivers; and the barometer stood at 20° 9′. The Cross-Mountain is composed of a reddish brown and extremely porous basaltic porphyry, which is intermixed with almond-stones, and lies almost invariably in a horizontal position. From the cross the road gradually declines, and we now descended the Caucasus to the source of the Aragwi, called by the Ossetes Chadde-don, which falls into the Kur near Mzchetha in Georgia, and along which runs the road to Tiflis. In descending we had the Aragwi on our right; near that river you see a little hill of basalt, overgrown with fir- and other trees, which is very picturesquely situated in the middle of a deep valley, and on which stand several habitations of poor Ossetes.

Here we entered the Ossetian district of Guda, which however is accounted to belong to Georgia. The first village that we came to in it was Noach-kau, or the New; we afterwards passed Naryalset-k'ari, Ditweli, and to the left of it Sserewake. Lower down we had Kumlis-ziche, or the Gingerbread Castle; for Kumli is the Georgian name of a kind of cake composed of flour and honey, which unmarried females are very fond of, and with the eating of which they connect some superstitious notion or other, but I could not learn exactly what it is. From this place you have, particularly in summer, a magnificent prospect of the valleys of Mthiulethi. On the west side of the Aragwi, proceeding downward, are situated the villages of Kanisi, Chatikau, Guda, Kadiani, Mleti, and Batara Guda, (Little Guda,) all belonging to the district of Guda. To the west of them, near the source of the river Ksani, dwell the Dshamur, another Ossetian tribe, who also belong to Georgia.

At ten at night we at length reached Kaischáurt-k'ari, or the Kaischaurian Gate, from which the Russians have transferred to Mount Guda the name of Kaischaur. Near this village, seated on a slate-hill of considerable elevation, and inhabited by a few indigent Georgian families, has been erected a strong redoubt, with a numerous garrison of Jägers and some pieces of cannon. Here we first tasted Georgian wine (*Ghwino*); and though it smelled of the tar with which the skins are besmeared, yet after our fatiguing journey over the mountains it proved very acceptable. Here too we had *Tschurts'chela* set before us for the first time: this dish consists of apples, apricots, walnuts, and other fruit strung upon cords, dried, then repeatedly dipped in grape syrup, and rolled in flour when cold. They are eaten either in that state, or warmed up a little; by which they are rendered softer.

The darkness, and the fatigue of my attendants, obliged me to pass the night at Kaischáurt-k'ari.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

PASSAGE OF THE ARAGWI, THE ARAGON OF THE ANCIENTS—PASCHANAURI—THE GUDAMAQARI, AN ANCIENT GEORGIAN TRIBE—THEIR PREDATORY DISPOSITION—GEOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE SOUTHERN DECLIVITY OF THE CAUCASUS—COMPARISON BETWEEN IT AND THE NORTHERN—DISTRICT OF MTHIULETHI—INHABITANTS OF THE MOUNTAINS—THEIR MANNERS—AGRICULTURE—DOMESTIC ANIMALS—HOUSES OF THE MOUNTAINEERS—FORTRESS OF ANANURI—ANCIENT CHURCHES PLUNDERED BY THE LESGIANS—UNNECESSARY DETENTION OF THE AUTHOR FOR THREE DAYS AT THE QUARANTINE.

THE weather was very dark, and the snow fell fast, as we descended in the morning of December 27th from Kaischáurt-k'ari into the valley to the Aragwi, the Aragon of the ancients, which was at first on our right; but after proceeding about 4¼ wersts we crossed over to its right bank from the village of Araklethi. Three wersts further we had on our right a church dedicated to St. George (Tzminda-Giorgi); and to the west of which is another church, called Zechli-dsuari. The total distance from Kaischáurt-k'ari to the Cossack station of Paschanáuri is by computation 20 wersts; and on the way thither are many very copious mineral springs, which here flow unnoticed. The water of one of these springs in particular, not far from the spot where we crossed the roaring Aragwi, has a very pleasant taste, and mixed with rum made excellent punch.

Paschanáuri, where about forty Cossacks only are stationed, cannot properly be called a village, but is only a station for travellers consisting of *semljankas* or subterraneous huts, and is situated at the influx of the Tschabaruchi into the right of the Aragwi, nearly opposite to the mouth of that considerable mountain-torrent the Gudamaqari. Along it a Georgian tribe of the same name resides in the following villages from its mouth upward: Dumats'chau, Attenoki, Tschochi, Libda, Tschala, Gogamurta, Makarta, Kitochi, Tschartschochi, Pauchidshi, Tzibaurta, and Bakurchewi, which is the furthest to the north-east, and borders on the extreme village of the district or nation of Chewserethi, mentioned in the preceding chapter. The Gudamaqari* speak the old Georgian dialect, and are nominally Greek Christians.

* Moses of Chorene makes mention of them in his Geography by the name of Gudamakark. The proper signification of this word I was unable to learn. *Guda* in Georgian is a leather sack, and *maqari* a ribband which the guests at weddings tie round their arms.

It is these people in particular who infest the road from Kaischáurt-k'ari to Ananuri, so that scarcely a month passes without their committing several robberies and murders. They are inveterate enemies to Russia, and have bound themselves never to submit to her dominion; which they are enabled the more effectually to resist by the inaccessible situation of their settlements. Opposite to the mouth of the Gudamaqari the barometer stood at 23° 9′.

From Paschinauri our road led for 22 wersts along the right of the Aragwi to the fortress of Ananuri. This road is extremely dangerous, being only a few yards in width; it runs along the steep bank of the river, and is bordered on the other side by a craggy hill overgrown with wood, where robbers may conveniently conceal themselves, and take deliberate aim at passengers; so that a single individual, sufficiently provided with ammunition, may dispatch several persons before you can discover his lurking-place, or are able to get at him.

The sloping plains formed by the Caucasian mountains, even from their greatest elevations, from north to south, are not of equal length with those extending in a contrary direction toward the north. The southern slope is much longer than the northern, that is, from the highest chain to the branch of the lime-stone range. The length of the northern slope is about 25 wersts, that of the southern near 50, reckoning from Gelalethi to Ananuri. The southern side of the mountains is of course less steep, and the descent more gradual; so that very few pointed or pyramidal peaks are to be seen there. For the same reason also it is not so bare, but almost every where clothed with trees and herbage. The three principal strata succeed one another on the south in the same order as on the north side. Next to the middle and highest range of sienite and basalt, comes, as you proceed southward, the slate, which here occupies a space of 12 wersts from north to south, and is consequently four wersts broader than the northern range of slate. The slate is followed by the lime-stone, whose base is 35 wersts in breadth, and consequently exceeds the northern mass of lime-stone by 20 wersts. Next to the slate this lime-stone is iron gray, very fine to the touch, sonorific, and splits into thick blocks. In the branch which runs off by Ananuri it is intermixed with sand. The strata of stone cease with this lime-stone; but the mountains, instead of settling into a level plain as on the north side, are continued to the south in hills sometimes of greater sometimes of less elevation, which upon the whole become gradually lower towards the south, and extend to the Kur, which separates them from the northernmost range of the Ararat. In this southern part of the mountains you frequently meet with calcareous spars, partly compact and rhomboidal, partly porous; likewise milk-quartz, especially on the Terek from Gergethi to Kobi; also near Guda at the source of the Aragwi; whence

we may infer that mineral ores are more common here than in the northern mountains. My attendants hurried on at such a rate, that I had not time to seek the veins to which the spars and quartzes carried along by the torrents originally belonged. In the environs of Gergethi and Stephan-Tzminda I frequently saw reddish and yellow glimmer (cat-gold) in different species of stone, which has often been mistaken for genuine gold by ignorant Georgians and Russians, till they were convinced by experience that all is not gold that glitters.

Two hours journey above Ananuri, a stream called the Menesau, descending from an eminence about 120 feet high, falls into the west side of the Aragwi. Its current deposits in considerable quantity a wavy tuff-stone, which also incrusts the branches of the hazel-trees that hang down into the water. For the rest, I have not detected any carbonic acid gas among its contents.

The southern mountains settle to the south into a perfect plain, in the same manner as the dale of the Aragwi gradually sinks from the east to the west; and the rocky mountains are every where covered with a sufficient depth of yellowish clay and mould. Hence the country bordering on the upper part of the river is covered with corn-fields; and on both sides of it are situated the following twenty-seven villages, which compose the district of Mthiulethi, or the mountainous region. On the east side of the Aragwi are nineteen:—Ssetartk'ari (which is the extreme northern settlement and borders on the district of Guda), Kaischáurt-k'ari, Skere, Migurethi, Zichoa-Schwili, Tschonscho, Sakat-k'ari, Roro, Kaewscha, Mikoarat-k'ari, Arganauk'ari, Nadibani, Koknáuri, Kekiani, Tschoschelni, Tsmia-Schwili, Tschiriki, Kautarani, and Dshidshiani, which is the last to the south. On the west side lie eight villages belonging to this district, in the following order from north to south:—Mlethi, Arakethi, Kimbarieni, Charchethi, Tzetzlidshuari, Amirni, Kando, and Tscharthali. All these villages are situated at a considerable elevation upon the mountains; for four hours' journey above Ananuri they are covered with the thickest beech-wood, the *Fagus sylvatica;* so that there cannot be either fields or villages there. Not far from Ananuri the timber-trees cease, and are succeeded by underwood, composed of the *Cratægus oxyacantha, Cornus mas* and *sanguinea, Mespilus germanica, Malus sylvestris, Prunus domestica, Ligustrum vulgare, Evonymus europæus, Prunus spinosa, Acer campestris, Corylus avellana, Fraxinus excelsus, Berberis vulgaris, Carpinus betulus, Ulmus campestris,* and *Quercus robur.* In a word, this underwood exactly resembles that on the lower Terek between Mosdok and Kurdokowa. The walnut-tree is common in the environs of Ananuri; but it is not indigenous there, bearing only every second year, though it thrives extremely

well, and vies in height and thickness with the largest oaks. Grapes and peaches are also raised about Ananuri, but are not every year equally successful.

That part of the high mountains between Gelathi and Kobi has scarcely any wood. You meet but rarely with the pine, *Pinus sylvestris*, the birch, *Betula alba*, and *Betula alnus*, *Sorbus aucuparia*, *Leonicera cærulea*, *Spirea crevata*, *Azalea pontica*, *Rhododendron ponticum*, and *Vaccinium Vitis idæa*, which clothe the highest mountains where no trees of larger size are to be found. As you descend from their summits, you meet with none of these species in the lower and warmer situations; but in their stead the *Pyrus pyraster*, *Corylus avellana*, and *Ulmus campestris*, most frequently occur. Still lower down these are succeeded by the kinds of trees already enumerated*.

The inhabitants of the district of Mthiulethi are Georgians, who are very poor, and speak a dialect somewhat different from the pure language of their country. They are not yet reduced under subjection to Russia, but conduct themselves more peaceably than their eastern neighbours, the Gudamaqari, because their abodes are more accessible than those of the latter. Their principal production is tobacco, which they send to a considerable distance round about. Their country likewise abounds with game, bears, wolves, wild cats, and other animals, whose skins they sell. Their arable lands are not extensive, on account of the narrowness of the dales which they inhabit. They strive indeed to gain from the barren rocks as much ground as possible; but yet they never grow sufficient corn for their consumption, as wheat and rye will not thrive there, though the soil is favourable to barley, turnips, and radishes. They receive their flour from other districts of Georgia beyond Tiflis, whither they often travel in numerous caravans to barter their native commodities. They likewise procure considerable supplies from the fertile country of Duschethi; and manufacture a peculiar kind of small iron tobacco-pipes, which are in great request among their neighbours.

In the district of Chewi are grown wheat, barley, especially the two-eared kind, and oats; the first being sown in autumn, and the two others in summer. The wheat-harvest does not commence till the middle of September, at which time the oats and barley are not yet completely ripe. The sowing of winter-corn takes place about the same season, when some fields are already clothed with their new verdure. The hay-harvest must likewise be got in at the same time:—such is the accumulation

* All these observations in natural history are the result of later summer excursions, for winter is not the season for making such remarks.

of agricultural labours during the short summer of these cold regions. The arable land is manured and prepared with a small plough, which I shall describe in another place.—The domestic animals of these mountaineers are horned cattle, sheep, goats, hogs, horses, and asses. All the operations of agriculture they perform with oxen; the asses they employ only for carrying burdens; and the horses, of which they have but few, solely for riding. They keep many dogs of the breed of the common wolf-dog; cats are not so numerous. They have no poultry but hens. Among the wild birds I particularly remarked the elegant *Certhia muraria*, the wall-creeper, frequently hopping about upon the rocks.

The houses of the mountaineers are built of rude stones, and consist of nothing but four walls upon which are laid rafters; over these are placed slates, and the whole is covered with earth. This roof is of course quite flat, and in the middle of it is a hole for the passage of the smoke, which may be closed within. At this aperture also the day-light is admitted. These houses are from six to twelve feet high, and in general the cattle occupy the lower, and their owners the upper part. The villages in the two districts of Chewi and Mthiulethi are small, and their population cannot be rated higher than twenty families each upon an average. There are few of them that have not a mill with a horizontal wheel, of the kind already described in treating of the Inguschen. The tribute levied by the Georgian kings from both districts was from two to four sheep from each family, which I believe still continues to be paid.

Ananuri, whose name Reineggs without any reason translates from the Arabic, Anna's Light, is situated on the left bank of the rivulet Arkala, which empties itself into the right of the Aragwi. It belongs to the Georgian district of Sseristo, which extends beyond Duschethi, and is inhabited by a few Georgians and Armenians. The fortress is composed of a wall about eighteen feet high, forming a quadrangle with round towers at the corners, constructed in such a manner as to command the walls. This fortress, in which however I could find no other traces of one than a commandant who was constantly drunk, is completely occupied by three churches dedicated to St. Chithobel. They are said to have been erected the one about 200, and the other about 180 years since; and to have been both founded by Eristhawis. Besides these churches no other building is to be seen within this fortress, than an old house for the commandant, which now stands empty, and another for the ecclesiastic.

In August 1727 the Eristhawi of Ksan, named Schansche, hired a troop of Lesgians, with whom he first took the fortress of Chamschiss-ziche, and then at-

tacked Ananuri, where the Aragwiss Eristhawi, named Bardsig, resided with his brothers and relations. After an obstinate conflict, this fortress also was taken by the Lesgians, and the churches, which are said to have formerly been very rich, but now exhibit nothing else than bare walls, were completely stripped. You may still see how the conquerors scooped out with their daggers the eyes of the apostles and saints painted upon plaster.

The houses of the inhabitants of Ananuri are without the fortress, and adjoin its east side. The area upon which they stand is a square, and was formerly surrounded by a wall now fallen to decay. They have a singular appearance, for their roofs are all level with the surface of the ground. They are mere pits about six feet deep, lined on the sides with wood, and covered at top with boards plastered over with clay. In the middle of each roof is an aperture for the escape of the smoke of the wood which is burned for fuel, and the admission of light into the apartment. The stalls for the cattle are close to the houses, and constructed in the same manner. This mode of building attests the most disgraceful sluggishness, as materials for the purpose may be procured in great abundance in the neighbourhood. I should likewise observe that in this fortress there are pipes laid down at a distant period, by which the water of the springs that rise in the adjacent mountains was conducted to every part of it; but they are now gone quite to decay.

At Ananuri we were detained from the 28th to the 30th of December in the quarantine-house, which consisted of three sheds constructed with branches, where we were exposed to all the inclemency of the weather. This quarantine seemed moreover to be absolutely unnecessary, as no part of the baggage of travellers is aired, and they themselves are not subjected to any examination; for which indeed the inebriated officers cannot spare time.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

UNPLEASANT ADVENTURE IN THE QUARANTINE—THE WHITE ARAGWI—PSCHAWI AND CHEWSURI—CHURCH OF LASCHA DSHWARI—DEPARTURE FROM ANANURI—RAGASPIRI—CHURCH OF ST. GEORGE—CAVERNS AROUND IT—ANCIENT FORTRESS OF SSAGURAMO—GHARTISS-K'ARI—MZCHETHA—HISTORY OF THAT TOWN—ADJACENT PLACES—ANCIENT CHURCH—QUARANTINE IN THE ANCIENT FORTRESS OF SSAMTHAURO—DESCRIPTION OF MZCHETHA AND ITS CHURCH—TOMBS OF THE GEORGIAN KINGS—PARTICULARS RESPECTING THE GEORGIAN PROVINCES ON THE BLACK SEA.

ACCORDING to the ordinance of government, such travellers only as have come from the high mountains, and have had communication with the tribes among whom the plague actually rages, shall be detained twenty-four hours at the quarantine of Ananuri and examined; but those coming from Russia by the great military road shall be suffered to pass unmolested. The circumstance, however, which detained us here three days may serve as a proof how much travellers are exposed on every occasion to the chicanery of the inferior officers.

In the evening of the 27th having reached the quarantine, which stands about a werst to the north-east of Ananuri, not far from the Aragwi, whose current here is extremely rapid, and given notice of our arrival to the commandant of the fortress, the latter came in person to receive us, and to learn what news we had brought from Russia. He was, as is usual with him, much inebriated, but nevertheless took several glasses of punch with us, after which he positively promised to send us at a very early hour next morning both horses and an escort for the prosecution of our journey.

We waited till near noon, but saw nothing of the horses and as little of the commandant. After many messages backward and forward, he at last made his appearance about six in the evening, when it was already quite dark, with the horses and ten Cossacks destined for our escort. A Russian major, who had kept us company from Mosdok, remonstrated with him, but not in offensive terms, on the non-fulfilment of the promise which he had given the preceding day, and remarked that the roads were too unsafe to set out in the dark at so late an hour. This liberty highly affronted his excellency the captain, who, without making any reply, returned

with the horses, and sent us word by the surgeon, that as we did not choose to set off that evening he would detain us three days in the quarantine; and he punctually kept his word.

On our arrival at Tiflis we complained, it is true, of this behaviour of the commandant of Ananuri; but the reprimand that he received was no compensation to us for the loss of three days, and the unpleasant dispute in which we had been involved.

About a (German) mile below Ananuri, the river denominated by the Georgians Tethri Aragwi, or the White Aragwi, falls into the Great Aragwi, likewise named Schawi Aragwi, or the Black Aragwi. Contiguous to it are the settlements of the Georgian nation Pschawi, which extends eastward to the source of the river Jöri in K'achethi, but on the west is separated by the Chewsuri, whose country is called Chewsurethi from the Gudamaqari. The dales inhabited by both tribes were formerly named Pchoweli, and are divided on the north by the icy mountains from the Ingusches and Kists.

The Pschawi have the same language and religion as the rest of the Georgians. A church founded by King Lascha Giorgi (who reigned from A. D. 1198 to 1211) and called Laschas dshwari, is held particularly sacred by them. It is said to contain many golden images of saints, crosses, and church-utensils; for hither the Pschawi and Tuschi bring all the gold and silver that falls into their hands. They have likewise prophets who can reveal what is hidden, and predict future events in the name of St. George. In other respects, both they and their neighbours the Chewsuri resemble the inhabitants of Mthiulethi, and in their rocky dales are secure from all hostile assaults. Like their neighbours, the Gudamaqari, they are enemies to the Russians, but are far inferior in courage to the other Caucasians. They either make their attacks with a great superiority of number, when they are sure of victory; or lurk in small parties near a narrow pass behind a bulwark composed of trees and stones, whence they can conveniently take aim, and where their opponents cannot easily come at them. They kill Russians even without any expectation of booty, merely because they consider them as enemies; and the same thing is frequently done by the other Georgians assuming the character of mountaineers; for nothing is so ardently wished by the whole nation as to disengage themselves from the Russian authority, and either to be governed by their own kings or to become dependent on Persia. The Chewsuri have among their mountains fertile fields, in which they chiefly raise barley, oats, millet, and but a small quantity of wheat.—Panthers (in Tartar Ckaplan, in Georgian Kaphlani) are frequent among them.

They carry the skins to Tiflis, and sell them there at a cheap rate; a small one fetching three, and a large one six or seven rubles, silver money.

At the conflux of the White and Black Aragwi, and between those two rivers, is situated the strong castle of Shinwani, near which formerly stood a town. A few wersts to the south of this place the river and rocky dale of Bodawi, which commence in the mountains of Thianethi, and run from east to west, communicate with the left of the Aragwi. Near Bodawi is a spacious and handsome convent with a cupola. Next comes on the same side, more to the south, the dale of Tzirdaliss-chewi, and still further southward, another called Nok'orniss-chewi. Both come from the mountains of Thianethi; and in the upper part of the latter stands a convent with a cupola founded by Artschil, the 44th Georgian king, who suffered martyrdom about A. D. 718, and lies buried in this edifice.

On the 31st of December we at length left our disagreeable quarantine, and pursued our route along the right bank of the Aragwi. On the way from Ananuri to Ragaspiri, we had on our right a church dedicated to St. George, (Giorgi Tzminda,) which stands on a lofty conglomerate hill, is built of hewn sand-stone, and is still in good condition. The hill is full of caverns large and small, respecting the origin of which nothing is known with certainty. They were probably excavated by pious recluses who formerly resided near the church. Here commences the alluvial sand-stone formation intermixed with chalk, and conglomerate hills are every where to be met with in abundance. From this circumstance may be inferred the former magnitude of the Caucasian rivers, and the frequent changes of their channels. The whole country is strewed with rounded stones washed down from the highest mountains, the oldest of which, being decomposed by the atmosphere, have formed a stratum of clay nearly a foot thick above the soil, but intermixed with a sand which effervesces with acids.

In this part of the country we saw the first vines in Georgia, but they seemed to be dead. Lofty walnut-trees also abound here, but they do not bear every year. Shortly before you reach Ragaspiri, the valley in which flows the Aragwi increases considerably in breadth; the hills on both sides being clothed with trees, which give them a cheerful appearance. The oak here predominates. The soil is fertile, and well adapted to the cultivation of wheat.

Having crossed the brooks Pote, Duschethi, and Kida, we came to Ghartiss-K'ari, a considerable Cossack station, situated in an agreeable and not very hilly country on the right bank of the Aragwi. We left on the other side of the river, about three wersts to the north-west, the ancient fortress of Ssaguramo, formerly

called Cherk'i, in the dale of Thetsmiss-chewi. Towards the east the latter is separated by a ridge from Erzo in K'achethi, and southward of it are the mountains of Sadeni, upon which stood a fortress reported to have been erected by Pharnabas, the fourth king of Georgia, who reigned from 274 to 242 before Christ. This Pharnabas here set up the idol Suden, from which the place received its appellation. In the sequel it became the residence of one of the thirteen holy fathers, named Joane, who here erected a convent where he lived and is interred. From the vault of this church issues a spring which runs into a capacious stone basin. The Georgians consider it as a miracle that this basin is always full and never overflows; they likewise ascribe to this water a salutary virtue in various diseases, and carry it in skins for sale all over the adjacent country.

From Ghartiss-K'ari to the quarantine of Mzchetha it was but one German mile further, and this we performed in the afternoon. By the way we passed, to the south of the village of Phontchela, over the rivulet Nares-chewi, which rises in the sand-stone mountains ten wersts to the south-east of Duschethi, has extremely clear water, and discharges itself into the right of the Aragwi. This is the last accession received by that river, which proceeds in a broad stream, with frequent changes of its course, and falls near Mzchetha into the Mtk'wari or Kur.

Mzchetha, formerly the capital of Georgia, but now a miserable village, is situated in the angle formed by the conflux of the Aragwi and Mtk'wari, on the right side of the former and on the left of the latter. According to the Georgian tradition, this place was founded by Mzchethoss, a son of Khartloss, who lived in the sixth generation from Noah, and after whom it was named. It increased by degrees to a considerable city, where the kings of Georgia fixed their residence. The Persian Erissthawi (satrap) Ardam inclosed it with a wall, built a fort at the bridge over the Kur, and another to the north, and connected them with Armasa, which lay on the opposite side of the river. Since that period the Georgians are said to have begun to construct their edifices with lime-stone. He resided in this city as the supreme governor of the country, to whom all the others were subordinate. In the sequel Aon destroyed the fortifications of Mzchetha, which were rebuilt by King Pharnabas, and kept in good condition by his successors. King Mirian, who reigned from A. D. 265 to 318, erected here a wooden church, where a tattered garment of Christ's was preserved. Mirdat, the 26th king of Georgia, (from A. D. 364 to 379,) replaced the old wooden pillars with columns of stone, called in Georgian Ssweti, whence this edifice received the appellation of Ssweti zchoweli, though now it is named Ssamirone. To the north of it the same Mirian erected another church which is

called Gthaebissa-Ssamthawro, and is a handsome building of hewn stone, with a cupola. In this church Mir, the forty-third king, who lived about A. D. 668, is interred. Wachtang Gurgasslan (from A. D. 446 to 499) rebuilt Mzchetha of stone, and made it the seat of a Katolikos. Under Giorgi, the 71st king, (about 1304,) the town which had been previously laid waste was once more rebuilt, and soon afterwards again destroyed by Timur, who in the Georgian annals is called Langthemur. Alexander, the 76th king, who ascended the throne in 1414, raised it again from its ruins, and erected a handsome stone church with a cupola; but it was not long before the cupola fell in, and it was not restored till the reign of Rostow, the 89th king, between 1634 and 1658. Lastly, Wachtang, the 94th king, (from 1703 to 1722,) contributed greatly to improve and beautify this church. Within it are interred the following kings: Wachtang Gurgasslan, Davith Laschatsé, Dimitri Thawdebuli, Luarssab the Great, Swimon, and Giorgi. On the east side of the town formerly stood the church of Stephan-Tzminda, erected by Artschil, the 31st king*.

Mzchetha is seated about sixty feet above the level of the Kur, and is surrounded with hills. To the east of it is Mount Dshwar Sedatseni, on the left of the Aragwi, upon which stand the church and convent of Tschatschuiss-Lagdari, that is, the Coat of Mail Church. Tradition relates that a chain was carried from it to the top of the steeple of the church at Mzchetha, along which the saints of both these sacred structures used to go to pay mutual visits. They are said to have been built by two architects, the one of whom was the master, the other his pupil. The former, we are told, seeing that the work of his disciple at Mzchetha surpassed his own, cut off his right hand in a paroxysm of vexation and despair. To the west of Mzchetha are the hills of Ssarkhinethi, on which formerly stood a suburb named Ssarkhine, and where are now to be seen the ruins and church of the ancient castle of Ssamthawro, which are tolerably spacious, and only three or four hundred paces distant from the town. Here is now established the quarantine, at which we were detained till the 12th of January 1808. In the north-east angle is the grave of St. Nino, who introduced Christianity into Georgia, over which is a small chapel where the quarantine-surgeon now keeps his medical stores. On the south side of Ssamthawro are the old walls of the former episcopal residence, and opposite to them on the north

* All these historical particulars are extracted from the *Geographical Description of Georgia*, mentioned at p. 352.

an ancient church which is in good preservation, but at present quite empty. Within it are interred some kings and queens of Georgia.

. Mzchetha, which is perhaps the Μισταλῆτα of Ptolemy, was formerly the capital and seat of the government of Georgia, till in 469 Wachtang Gurgaselan removed the royal residence from this place to Tiflis, which he had founded. From the many ruins of stone edifices, which are to be met with at every step, we may infer the former magnificence of this city, which stood on both sides of the Aragwi. Its extent from north to south is said to have been not less than six wersts. The old church at Mzchetha, whence the place is yet called Convent Mzchetha, is one of the finest structures in Georgia, and was erected by Greek architects. It is seventy paces in length, and built of hewn sand-stone procured from the neighbouring hills. Many of them are of an emerald green colour, which seems to proceed from intermixed particles of iron or chlorite, and consist of pulverized feldspar. This church, though built with great regularity, is destitute of any kind of architectural elegance. The interior is so far from magnificent, that it cannot even boast the recommendation of cleanliness. The figures of the saints are wretched daubings upon plaster, with inscriptions in the Greek language, to which a Georgian translation is annexed. This church is more particularly remarkable as the burial-place of many persons of the royal family and of the most illustrious princely houses of Georgia. Their remains are deposited in the earth, and the places are marked only by flat stones laid over them. The church is surrounded by the usual subterraneous houses, already described in treating of Ananuri, in which some hundreds of wretched inhabitants lead a miserable life, and shut themselves up at night with their cattle to escape the depredations of the Lesgians.

The whole place is inclosed by walls forming a regular quadrangle, each side of which is about 150 paces in length. They are twenty-four feet high, five thick, and constructed of large rough stones cemented with mortar. To the north of Mzchetha, upon a rock on the right of the Aragwi, is seated the place called Nazichwari.

In the neighbouring fields you often meet with large masses of conglomerated petrified shells, which are pretty hard, and when not too much decayed by the weather are susceptible of a polish. Pieces of obsidian, but not above half as large as a human hand, frequently occur in the road from Mzchetha to Muchrani.

At the quarantine I formed an acquaintance with a Russian officer who had been for some time in Imerethi and Mingrelia, and to whom I am indebted for the following details relative to the provinces of Georgia contiguous to the Black Sea.

Imerethi, Mingrelia, Guriel, and the Paschalik of Achalziche, belonged at the conclusion of the 14th century to Georgia, when King Alexander divided these states among his three sons. The Turks, who at a later period extended their conquests hither, subdued Imerethi, Mingrelia, and Guriel, of which they retained possession till the peace of Kütschück-Kainardshi in 1774. By this treaty it was agreed that the Turkish troops should evacuate the fortresses of Kotatisa, (Khuthaissi,) Ssarapani, and Bogdatschina, in Imerethi; and these countries themselves were declared independent: but with respect to the towns on the sea-coast, they were to belong to that power which could establish the earliest claim to them.

General Totleben, who in 1770 had conquered all Imerethi and Mingrelia, as far as the town of Poty, drove the Turks out of them, and afterwards withdrew the Russian troops from those provinces. Since that period Russia has not insisted on the fulfilment of the last article; for no longer than about a year since the Porte remained in tranquil possession of Bathumi in Guriel, and of Poty and Anaklea in Mingrelia. The latter town, however, was some years ago betrayed by one Saltschutzi Golovani, and delivered up for a very low price by the Dadian to the Prince of the Abchass, named Kaleschbeck, who is of Georgian extraction, but has embraced Islamism, and acknowledged the paramount authority of the Porte.

Mingrelia is divided into two extensive districts; Odischi, along the right bank of the Rion to the sea, and Ledshgumi, bordering on Imerethi, Ssuanethi, and the country of the Abchass. Though Poty is situated on the left of the Rion, it nevertheless belongs to Odischi, as does also the little town of Anaklea, at the mouth of the river Mécu Enguri. That part of Odischi contiguous to the Rion is swampy, on account of the frequent inundations; but the climate of Ledshgumi is pleasant and salubrious. The soil is fertile, and the hills are clothed with fine timber and fruit-trees. Merchant vessels cannot approach within two wersts of Poty; but large flat-bottomed boats enter the Rion, and ascend to the influx of the K'wirila, about three hours' journey from Kotatis. When Russian transports with troops and provisions were sent in 1804 to the coast of Mingrelia, a new port was discovered at the mouth of the two rivers Chopi and Ziwi, which here form a considerable bay, capable, if the entrance were cleansed, of containing fifty vessels.

The chief rivers of Mingrelia are the Tzcheniss-tzqali, (that is, Horse-Water, the Hippus of the ancients,) which separates it from Imerethi, the Enguri, and the Unwi, which falls into the Choni, and whose sources are only five wersts from those

of the Rion. Prince Zizianow sent hither an officer of engineers, to examine whether a communication might not be effected between the two rivers; but unless the harbour of Chopi were easily accessible, such a canal would be absolutely useless.

The inhabitants subsist by some little agriculture, and by the sale of their own children; the princes bartering away those of their subjects with the Turks. The people are poor, and their miseries are aggravated by incessant wars and domestic dissensions. All the Mingrelians are Greek Christians, as are also the Imerethians and Georgians. The form of government nearly resembles that of Imerethi, except that the latter has a king with the title of Mephe, and Mingrelia a prince who is styled Dadian.

During the war with Turkey, in 1772 and 1773, the reigning Prince of Mingrelia, Kazia Dadian, rendered important services to General Totleben; wherefore his country, as well as Imerethi, was, at the conclusion of peace, relieved from the obligation of giving young boys and girls as hostages to the Porte. Perfect liberty of conscience was likewise granted to them, and they were declared independent of both powers. In consequence Russia had long ceased to have any connexion with Mingrelia, when Kazia Dadian became involved in a quarrel with Solomon I. King of Imerethi, respecting the province of Ledshgumi. It was continued by his son Giorgi Dadian. In 1803 Solomon II. succeeded his father in the throne of Imerethi, and subdued Ledshgumi by force of arms. Giorgi Dadian, reduced to despair, sought the protection of Russia, soliciting to be admitted into the number of her vassals; and toward the conclusion of the same year he took the oath of allegiance to the Emperor. He subscribed at the same time an act of submission, which was ratified on the 4th of July 1804. According to this act, himself and his successors are to enjoy all the privileges conferred on them by the laws of their country; but the punishment of death was abolished for ever.

Prince Giorgi Dadian died in October 1804, and his son Lewan was confirmed in the sovereignty of Mingrelia.

The incorporation of this country and Imerethi with the Russian empire put an end to all disputes between the Dadian and the King of Imerethi, and hostilities ceased. Both parties referred the decision of their claims to Ledshgumi to the Russian Court, whose determination they are now awaiting.

Imerethi is composed of Imerethi proper and the district of Radsha. It borders on Georgia, Mingrelia, and the Paschalik of Achalziche, and is separated

by the Caucasus from the Great Kabardah and the country of the Ossetes. The climate is mild, and the soil fertile. In the mountains you meet with the finest timber, and abundance of fruit-trees. The vine thrives here, as in Mingrelia, without any cultivation, and is seen clinging round all the large trees, so that the country resembles one vast vineyard. The wine (*ghwino**) of Imerethi very nearly resembles that of K'achethi, and is infinitely better than what is made about Tiflis, and in Kharthli, (Kartalinia,) or Georgia proper. It far surpasses also that of the Don, Kislar, and the Krym, notwithstanding the pains bestowed on the cultivation of those species. The two principal rivers are the Rioni and K'wirili, (that is, the crying or roaring) which receive a great number of subordinate streams, whose course is in general interrupted by numerous cataracts.

The Imerethians are employed in agriculture, and are not quite so indigent as the people of Mingrelia†. Some thousands of them repair annually to Georgia, and chiefly to Tiflis, where they hire themselves as servants or porters. They export some corn, honey, wax, and wine. In Kharthli, which is a very elevated country and exposed to the cold winds from the Caucasus, the vine does not flourish remarkably well; for which reason the produce of Imerethi is generally drunk there. Khuthaissi, the capital of Imerethi, situated on the right bank of the Rioni, is now in a state of great decay. Here reside about a hundred Armenian families, who have all the trade in their hands; and some of them, who have connections in Radsha, Ossetia, and the Kabardah, trade as far as Mosdok. Their road leads through Oni, Gébi, and Tschiora to Istirdugor, in the country of the Dugores, and thence along the Uruch through the Little Kabardah to Mosdok.

The revenues of the king are very small, and depend on circumstances. They amount yearly to between 30,000 and 50,000 rubles, silver money, according to the value of what he farms. Oppressive taxes impoverish the people, and enrich his coffers. It is difficult to ascertain the population of Imerethi, which certainly does not exceed 20,000 families; and that of Mingrelia cannot be rated higher

* It is remarkable that the Georgian, which has no affinity to any known language, corresponds in this one word *ghwino* with many European tongues; whereas in all the neighbouring languages *wine* is designated by totally different words. From the prodigious quantity of vines which grow wild on both sides of the Kur, we might almost be led to conclude that this excellent beverage, as well as its name, was originally introduced from these parts into Europe.

† At the court of the Dadian, one of my friends, who resided there some time, was frequently unable to procure change for a Turkish gold coin of the value of about two dollars.

than 10,000. Since the reign of King Solomon I. the trade in slaves, who were sold to the neighbouring nations, has considerably declined; and the country is much more populous, in proportion to its extent, than Georgia. Imerethi is only one fourth as large as the latter; and yet, according to the late census (1803), the number of families paying taxes was 13,000; whilst in Georgia, including the Tartar provinces of Ckasach, Bortschalo, and Bambak, they amounted to no more than 25,000.

The feudal system prevails in Imerethi; and the princes, who are vassals of the king, are not accountable for their conduct in their own territories. The common people are partly slaves of the king, partly villains to the princes; but the number of the latter is by far the most considerable. The assembly of the principal persons of the country form a council, without whose consent the king cannot undertake any important enterprise.

Solomon I. who threw off the Turkish yoke, sought the protection of the Court of Russia, and sent several embassies to St. Petersburg. At the head of one of them was Prince Szurob-Szertéli, who belongs to one of the most distinguished families in the country, and who has ever since been warmly attached to the Russian interest. The memory of Solomon I. is still reverenced by the people; for he terminated the incessant civil broils, protected them against foreign invasions, and prohibited the slave-trade upon pain of death. In vain did the Porte try all possible means to bring over this prince again to its interest; he continued faithful to Russia. After his death, David his son-in-law, who was a grandson of King Alexander, ascended the throne; but Irak'li, king of Georgia, or rather his consort Daria, desirous of seating upon it her grandson Solomon, who is the present sovereign of Imerethi, and belongs to the family of the Bagrathions, sent thither troops who excited an insurrection, expelled King David after a reign of only six years, and in 1793 set up Solomon II. in his stead. David, after wandering about as a fugitive for several years, at length died at Achalziche. His son Constantine, who now became the legitimate sovereign of Imerethi, had from his infancy been kept confined in a fortress. His mother Anna*, David's queen, was also driven from Imerethi, and in 1802 went to St. Petersburg to implore the interference of the Emperor in behalf of her son.

* This extraordinary female is at present with her son at St. Petersburg. She is the daughter of the Georgian prince Mathwei Orbeliani Schwili, and was formerly one of the first-rate beauties at Tiflis. During my stay in Georgia she showed me many civilities; and to her I am indebted for extremely interesting particulars relative to her native country and Imerethi, as also for a copy of the History of Georgia, of the greatest part of which I possess a translation.

M. Ssokolow, the Collegiate Counsellor, was accordingly sent to Imerethi, but returned without accomplishing his purpose; as did also the Georgian prince Abaschidse, who was afterwards deputed on the same errand by Prince Zizianow; till at length M. von Broniewski, the Collegiate Counsellor, effected the liberation of Constantine. After an imprisonment of ten years, he was released from the fortress of Muchuri, and on the 30th of May 1803 arrived with M. von Broniewski at Tiflis, whence he proceeded to St. Petersburg, accompanied by Prince Leonidse, who was sent by King Solomon II. to solicit the Emperor to admit him among the number of his vassals. In 1804 Solomon II. took the oath of allegiance, and received from His Majesty the Emperor a patent, by which he and his successors were declared legitimate sovereigns of Imerethi, and confirmed in all their privileges, excepting only the power of life and death.

On this event the dissentions and hostilities between Solomon and the Dadian indeed ceased, but their mutual hatred is not extinguished. It appears also as though the Russian government could not rely with confidence on the submission of the former.

Among the productions of Imerethi there is one that is particularly remarkable, and seems well worthy of the inquiries of the naturalist. This is a kind of wild honey, which is called by the inhabitants K'wa-tapli, or Stone-honey, because it is actually quite solid, brittle, and not viscous. It has a pleasant and spicy flavour, and is found in the clefts of the rocks. The honey and wax form one mass, and are as hard as sugar-candy. The cakes are commonly white, but turn yellow with age, and will keep for a long time. The Imerethians carry it with them in their pockets. This country likewise yields a sort of green honey, of a highly intoxicating quality.

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE RIVER KUR OR MTK'WARI, THE KYRUS OF THE ANCIENTS—ITS SOURCE AND COURSE—LUDICROUS PROPOSAL FOR EFFECTING A COMMUNICATION BETWEEN THE BLACK AND CASPIAN SEAS—NAVIGATION WITH RAFTS—GEORGIAN AND TARTAR CARTS, CALLED ARBA—ANOTHER METHOD OF TRANSPORTING GOODS—DEPARTURE FROM THE QUARANTINE—BRIDGE OVER THE KUR—ARMASI, OR ARMASISS-ZICHE, THE ARMOZIKA OF THE GREEKS—ROCKS OF DEWIS-NAMUCHLI—PLAIN OF DIGOMI—WERISS-CHEWI—ARRIVAL AT TIFLIS—DESCRIPTION OF THAT CITY.

THE mountainous chain extending along the south side of the Kur is considerably higher than that on the north side. The channel of the river is consequently bordered by lofty hills, and not broader than 150 paces; but when we passed it the water was so scanty as scarcely to cover a space of 100. The Kur is here several fathoms in depth; it flows gently and without noise, carrying with it only very small round stones. The bed of the Aragwi, on the contrary, is 500 paces wide; the water in it is very low, but runs with great impetuosity, hurrying along stones as large as a man's fist. Hence we may infer, either that the Kur does not issue from such lofty mountains as the Aragwi, or that its velocity is diminished by the length of its course.

This river is the Kyrus or Kyrros of the ancients, and the Koro of the Zendavesta. Its Georgian appellation is Mtk'wari; by the Armenians it is called Gkur, and by the Arabs and Persians Kur or Ckorr. It rises in the exterior range of the Ararat, a little to the north-west of the Turkish town of Ckars, near the sources of the river Tscharuck or Tschorokhi, which discharges itself into the Black Sea at Bathumi, and once formed the boundary of Georgia. From its source it runs due north till it has passed Achalziche and Borgami in Upper Khartlli, now separated from Georgia, and subject to the Turks. Below Achaldabo on the right, and above Ssuram on the left bank, the Kur turns eastward through the plain between the southern Caucasian mountains and the northernmost range of the Ararat, and then below the influx of the Aragwi to the east-south-east. In certain parts it pursues a south-east course as far as the place where it receives the Aras or Arasi (Araxes), because there it meets the mountains which divide Georgia from Schirwan,

and compel it to take a southern direction; it discharges itself by several mouths into the Caspian Sea near Ssallian, beyond the confines of Georgia.

Not long since, some person or other in Russia, probably with a view to satirize the rage for water-communications, proposed a plan for uniting the Kur with the Tschorokhi, or river of Bathumi, by a canal, and thus establishing a connexion between the Black Sea and the Caspian. Our good-natured journalists took care to propagate this scheme without any mistrust, a quality in which they seem in general to be greatly deficient. When, however, it is known that the sources of the above-mentioned rivers, and the whole upper part of their course, are separated by the ridge of Kali-kan, that the Tschorokhi is scarcely navigable any where, and the Kur is not so till a considerable distance below Tiflis, it will appear truly laughable that so absurd an idea should produce such Galvanic convulsions through the public prints from one extremity of Europe to the other.

All the branches of the Kur have their course, on account of the mountains, in deep dales, some broad, others narrow; some precipitous, and others gently sloping; some containing fertile fields, while others are liable to inundations; for which reason many of the places in these dales are seated at the bottom of them, but more on the high cliffs by which they are bordered.

The transparent and greenish water of the Aragwi does not immediately mix with the yellowish current of the Kur, rendered turbid by the quantity of calcareous particles which it holds in solution; but is visible to a considerable distance in the bed of the latter river. The only way in which the Kur is navigated to Tiflis is by means of rafts, on which various commodities are conveyed from Muchran and other places to the capital. This mode of carriage, however, is too dangerous, and liable to frequent accidents; for which reason Tartar carts (*arba*) are preferred for the transport of goods. The structure of these carts, which are employed all over the Caucasus, is very singular; for the wheels do not turn round upon the axle, but the whole axle-tree revolves along with them. They have but two wheels, which are very clumsy. The fellies are composed of four pieces of a hand's breadth, nearly a foot high, and made of oak. The nave is very thick, cylindrical, and about a foot and a half in diameter. Both parts are joined together by eight strong spokes. The axle, on which the wheels are driven with force, is nine feet long, round, and as thick as a man's arm. Upon it rest two poles, for which purpose are selected trees with one branch, by which the axle is prevented from slipping back. They must not be more than six feet in length. The platform on which the axle rests is rounded, but hewn smooth above; and upon it are fastened two poles, from twelve

to eighteen feet long, which project from the branch or fork that lies on the axle, only one third part of their length behind and two thirds before. These poles converge at their fore-ends, to which the yoke for harnessing two buffaloes is attached. Stakes, a few feet in height, project upward from them, and are connected by wicker-work to prevent the goods with which the cart is loaded from falling out at the sides. These same poles are also connected underneath by cross-bars.

These carts are seldom used for the conveyance of any thing but straw, hay, and wood. All other commodities are transported in Georgia upon horses, mules, asses, and oxen; and in the southern plains camels (in Georgian *aklemi*) also are frequently employed for the purpose. The people themselves never ride in carriages, but always on horseback, women as well as men, both high and low. It will be readily seen that the carts here described must be awkward vehicles; at the same time it is obvious that they must move with facility, as the friction takes place on no more than two small surfaces, namely, in the contact of the ground and the axle. These arbas are never greased, so that the music of their wheels is not the most harmonious.

At length, on the 13th of January 1808, our travelling passports were returned to us, with a certificate of health, and we were dismissed from the quarantine. We immediately ordered our horses to be saddled, that we might leave a place where we had been for twelve successive days deprived of liberty, and where we could not often procure the first necessaries of life, as they must be purchased out of the quarantine. From Mzchetha our route lay for two wersts up the Kur, on the left side of the river, till we came to the bridge, which is partly of stone and partly of wood, and in very good condition. Here was posted a quarantine guard, who demand of travellers their certificates of health to be registered.

By this bridge over the Kur you pass from Inner into Lower Kharthli, and afterwards continue on the right side of the river. On this side, opposite to the bridge of Mzchetha, stood the strong castle of Armasi or Armas-ziche, which, according to tradition, was founded by Kharthlos, the reputed progenitor of the Georgian nation, on a hill of the same name near the conflux of the Aragwi and Kur. He made it his residence, and from him the hill was called Kharthli, till Pharnabass, the first king of Georgia, set up there an idol named Armasi, from which the place received its new appellation. Kharthlos and Pharnabass were interred near this idol, which was destroyed by St. Nino when she converted the Georgians to Christianity. The town of Armasi extended to Nakhulbakhewi and Gluchi, but was in the sequel

demolished, as was also the village afterwards erected on its site. Reinegys erroneously states that the Georgians call this castle Horum-zighe (Greeks' castle); its proper name is Armasi-ziche. It was for a long period the residence of Georgian kings, and was most undoubtedly the Αρμοζικα of Strabo, the Armactica of Ptolemy, and the Harmastis on the river (Kur) of Pliny.

The Kur is here bordered by steep sand-stone rocks. It turns southward at one of these which projects very far on the right side, and is called in Georgian Dewiss-Namuchli, that is, Devil's-knee, because the lower part of it next to the river exhibits the shape of a colossal knee. At this place the road is hewn through the sand-rock, and thence you pass on into the fertile meadows of Dighomi, which are called Dighomiss-mindori. From these meadows the traveller perceives on the right of the river very large conglomerated sand-stone hills, the sand-stone lying underneath on a bed of clay-slate. In the former, crystals of gypsum frequently occur, but no use is made of them. Petrifactions and pieces of obsidian are common here, as in the vicinity of Mzchetha. Further on we crossed the brook Digomi, which rises in the west on Mount Ss'chal-didi, and traverses the rocky dale of Digomiss-cheoba. At the distance of two wersts from Tiflis we came to the rivulet Were, which is crossed by a stone bridge of truly elegant construction. From the village of Were to Tzgatha the whole valley in which it flows is covered with orchards, which contribute their produce to the supply of Tiflis.

After a journey of 21 wersts we at length arrived about noon at Tiflis, which city we entered by the Sophi's-gate. We had at first some difficulty to find sufficiently roomy quarters, but towards evening were fixed to our great satisfaction in the house of the Armenian priest David Khaitmassiani, situated on the hill.

The next day I had the honour to deliver my letters of recommendation from the Minister of the Interior and Count Potocki to General Field-Marshal Count Iwan Wassiliewitsch Gudowitsch, who made various inquiries respecting the object of my journey, which I explained as well as I could. His residence is not in the city, but stands at a little distance from it on the left of the road to Mzchetha, opposite to the old convent of Lurdsh-monasteri, near which is situated the general burial-place of the inhabitants of Tiflis. Here are stationed the principal guard, the arbas for the conveyance of military stores, and great part of the train of artillery.

Tiflis, the capital of Georgia, is situated in 61° 57′ east longitude, and in 41° 30′ north latitude, on the river Kur, which is called by the Georgians Mtk'wari, and runs through the middle of the city. At the spot where it leaves Tiflis it is closely

hemmed in by rocks, and its current is very rapid. The proper name of this place is Thphilisi, or Tphilis K'alaki, that is, Warm City, which it has received from its fine warm baths. It is composed of three parts: Tphilisi proper is the most ancient, and here the baths are situated; it lies to the south-west of the Kur, and is very inconsiderable. K'ala, to the north of the preceding, on the west side of the river, is now the most populous portion of the city; and Issni, the suburb, communicates with the other two parts by the only bridge which here crosses the Kur. In the most ancient times Tphilisi was only a village, near which, however, Warssa Bakur, the twenty-seventh king of Georgia, of the house of the Chosroes, during whose reign the country was ravaged by the Persians, erected the fortress of Schuriss-ziche about A. D. 380. In 469 the valiant monarch Wachtang Gurgasslan (Wolf-lion) here founded the city of Tphilisi, which being afterwards destroyed by the Chasares, was rebuilt by Emir Agarian, and after the demolition of Mzchetha became the residence of the Bagrathions.

That portion of the city lying westward of the Kur forms nearly a right-angled triangle, the longest side of which is next to the river; on the west it is encompassed by gardens, and its south side is bounded by a lofty ridge of calcareous marle, called Metech. Upon this ridge, near the Kur, is seated the fortress of Narekla, whence a wall upwards of a werst long and sixteen feet high, with loop-holes, runs along the summit of the hill to the west to the fort of Schardachti, now in ruins. This wall, which then goes down the hill along the west and north side of the city to the Kur, is considered as the city-wall, though it includes a considerable part of the ridge of Metechi not covered with buildings. Beyond it to the south runs the rivulet Zawkissi, which comes from a village of the same name, traversing a deep dale inclosed with lofty perpendicular rocks, which in summer is much frequented on account of the shade and the refreshing coolness of the atmosphere, and in which, near the town, are situated some gardens, that however are not worthy of notice. The walls of Tiflis which had been destroyed were rebuilt by Schach Abbas, who carried them on the south side of the city over the ridge of Ssolalani.

To the west of Tiflis is the lofty hill called Mta-tsminda, or the Holy; upon this hill stands a small and now decayed convent, concerning which many wonderful stories are related, and whither, about the end of May, great numbers, especially of females, make pilgrimages. Near it is the burial-place of the Catholics. To the north of Tiflis is the suburb of Garethubani, which is very populous and belongs to Tiflis proper, in the same manner as Awlabari is accounted part of Issni.

The city itself makes a very mean appearance; for since the last destruction by

Agha Mohammed Chan, in September 1795, great part of it resembles a heap of rubbish, not more than two-thirds of the houses having been rebuilt. The streets are so narrow that the most spacious of them are barely wide enough to admit an arba without inconvenience; whereas in the cross streets there is scarcely room for a horseman, and in dirty weather two pedestrians often find it difficult to pass one another. The houses are carelessly built in the Georgian fashion, of bricks and rough stones intermixed and cemented with dung or clay, so that they scarcely ever stand more than 15 years. The city has but three gates; the Sophi, the Muchrani, and on the south side the Gandsha, or Bath-gate. On the other side of the Kur lies the more modern suburb of Awlabari, inhabited by Syrians and Kurds. Tiflis formerly contained 15 Greek churches, in which divine worship is performed in the Old Georgian language, 20 Armenian and two Catholic, the most ancient of which called Chareba is dedicated to St. Joseph; but having been cracked in several places by a violent earthquake it is now nodding to its fall. The other was erected a few years since under the imperial patronage, and is not yet quite finished, though divine service is already held there. Contiguous to it is the new dwelling of the Capuchin missionaries, who have at present three fathers at this place. Besides the churches there are still two Messdsheds at Tiflis, one of which is appropriated to the Persians who are followers of Ali, and the other to the Sunnite Tartars: the latter was destroyed by Agha Mohammed, but its beautiful minaret is yet standing. It was built by Isaac Pascha, the Turkish general, in 1710. The house of the governor of Georgia (Prawitel Grusia), at present Fedor Isaiitsch Achwerdow, general of artillery, is situated in an open place on the Kur, where formerly stood the magnificent palace built in the Asiatic style by King Rostom, in 1658, and described by Chardin. A beginning has lately been made to erect there a spacious edifice for transacting the business of the crown. Besides these there is not one large or prominent building in the whole city: some Georgian princes, accustomed to the Russian manners, have indeed erected for themselves habitations which commonly have two stories, and a gallery running round them; but with these exceptions no other objects meet the eye than wretched stone-huts, most of which are extremely filthy. Windows are to be found in very few of them; instead of these they have but holes, which are not always so much as stopped up with oiled paper.

Tiflis has two markets (*Basari*), containing together 704 shops kept principally by Armenian, Tartar, and Georgian tradesmen; for here are but very few Russians, who expose their goods for sale in what is called the Armenian basar. These mar-

kets comprehend, according to the Asiatic fashion, the work-shops of all the artisans. You here find a whole street inhabited exclusively by shoemakers, another occupied by the shops of cap-makers, and a third by those of smiths. Silk-spinners, silversmiths, gun-makers, and sword-cutlers, all pursue their respective occupations, and by their public industry afford a pleasing spectacle to the traveller, so that the basar is one of the most interesting walks in Tiflis.

In the shops you meet with Russian, German, Tartar, and Persian manufactures, but all extravagantly dear; and it is a singular fact, that at St. Petersburg and Moscow, Asiatic fabrics, such as shawls and silks, may be purchased much cheaper than at Tiflis.

The population of Tiflis, exclusively of the Russian civil officers resident there and the garrison, is computed at 18,000 souls, nearly half of whom are Armenians.

Tiflis, like all Georgia, was formerly a very poor place; but the industry of the Armenians, the great quantity of specie brought thither from Russia, and an uninterrupted traffic with the Tartars and Persians, have greatly improved the circumstances of the inhabitants. The Turkish trade with Achalziche and Asia Minor is now totally at a stand on account of the war.

The celebrated warm baths here were once very magnificent, but are now much decayed; yet most of them are still floored and lined with marble. The water contains only a small proportion of sulphur, but is extremely salubrious. The natives, and the women in particular, carry their fondness for bathing to such excess, that they frequently remain in the baths for a whole day together, and have their meals brought thither to them from their own houses. From the use of the bath twice a week at Tiflis, I and my whole retinue experienced great benefit. Beyond the suburb and fortress of Issni on the right side of the Kur, sulphur was formerly refined in caverns in the rocks, but the practice is now discontinued. The sulphur was sublimated from a kind of stone mixed with gravel, and placed in a close oven in alternate layers with charcoal. Water containing vitriol yet drops from the sides of a wide cleft in the rocks. Near the baths on Mount Thabori formerly stood a fortress, now destroyed, which was the residence of the Sseids, appointed by the Schah Sefi of Persia, and was therefore denominated in Persian Sseidabad.

About three wersts below Tiflis, the Kur forms several islands which are covered with gardens where very good fruit is raised; but it is seldom to be had perfectly ripe at Tiflis, because the greedy and ignorant Georgian peasants gather it all before it has arrived at maturity; and hence arise frequent dysenteries in summer and

autumn. Thus, for instance, though the whole country round Tiflis abounds with almond-trees, you never see any of their produce offered for sale; but the Persian are taken for this purpose, because they are plucked while yet quite green.

The hills near Tiflis, which I reckon as belonging to the first range of the Ararat, which is separated by the Kur from the Caucasian mountains, are composed of marle, calcareous marle, slate and sand-stone, upon a base of dry brown-gray clay slate. In the clefts of the marle you meet with frequent veins of fibrous lime-stone, and likewise gypsum and talc.—Sulphureous gravel occurs in the tabular slate, and often converts it into a real alum-slate. The soil about Tiflis is clayey, and in many places mixed with calcareous sand. Horn-stone covered with indurated green earth nearly resembling jasper, is to be found in the valley of the rivulet Zawk'issi.

According to the statement furnished me by the inspector of police, there are at Tiflis,

1 Georgian Patriarch (Katholikos)—Antoni, son of King Irak'li.
1 Georgian Metropolitan.
55 Georgian Priests.
1 Greek Archierei.
3 Greek Archimandrites.
1 Armenian Archbishop.
73 Armenian Priests.
8 Armenian Archierei.
4 Catholic Fathers.
1 Tartar Effendi.
160 Thawadi, or Georgian Princes.
216 Assnauri, or Georgian Noblemen.
1983 Mok'alakhi, or Citizens.
251 Ssopheliss-K'azi, Boors belonging to the crown.
426 Thawadiss Ssopheliss-K'azi, Boors belonging to Noblemen.
3684 Private houses in contradistinction to buildings belonging to the Crown.

APPENDIX.

Account of the Attempt made by the Brethren at SAREPTA, *near* ASTRACHAN, *to spread the Gospel among the* TARTAR *Tribes inhabiting* MOUNT CAUCASUS.

(Extracted from the "Periodical Accounts relating to the Missions of the Church of the United Brethren, established among the Heathen.")

THE present endeavours of the Missionaries sent by the Missionary Society at Edinburgh, to bring the Gospel to the heathen nations in the Russian provinces in Asia, having occasioned an inquiry, Whether the Brethren had ever attempted to penetrate into those regions? the following short narrative is inserted. The principal aim of the establishment of the Brethren at Sarepta, near Astrachan, in 1765, was to preach the Gospel to the neighbouring, or more distant Calmuck and Tartar tribes; and no pains have been spared to accomplish it: but, though it pleased God to make them the instruments of much good in that country, by the preaching of the Gospel among the other settlers, their labour among the heathen has not been productive of much fruit. May the Lord cause more abundant success to attend the late exertions of our Brethren in other denominations!

The Brethren at Sarepta were ever intent upon devising the best means of spreading the Gospel among the Tartar Tribes inhabiting Mount Caucasus. In this view, Brother Gottfried Grabsch had spent a considerable time among the Tartars residing at Astrachan, that he might learn their language; and, at a proper time, resolved to travel into the mountains, to examine whether there was any probability of obtaining entrance with the Gospel among the inhabitants. He was likewise particularly desirous to visit the *Tschechis*, who were said to be descendants of the ancient Bohemian Brethren.

The congregation at Sarepta having also received several invitations to make settlements in Georgia and Grusinia, Brother Grabsch intended to continue his journey into those countries, to obtain a knowledge of their present state.

In the middle of November 1781, he set out from Sarepta, and arrived with his companion, George Gruhl, at Astrachan, where the Governor furnished him with passports to enable him to visit the Tartars on Mount Caucasus. In the beginning of December they proceeded to Kislar. Here they were obliged to wait for a convenient opportunity of continuing their journey till the 28th of February 1782. They meant to have gone immediately from Kislar to Kubascha, the principal residence of the Tschechis. After passing through several Tartar towns they arrived on the 7th of March at *Bereger*, the place where Professor Gmelin was im-

prisoned, and died.—Had it not been for their guide, a Tartar, they would not have been admitted into any dwelling, all the inhabitants being very zealous Mahometans, and refusing to entertain heretics, till at length one of them, to oblige the guide, gave the Brethren a night's lodging. They soon announced their arrival to Uzmei-Chan, the Tartar lord of that country, who happened to be at Beregee, and to whom they brought recommendatory letters from Kislar, in which he was requested to give them the necessary protection and guides, without which they could not proceed to Kubascha.

For several days they met with much opposition. Uzmei-Chan took all possible pains to find out what their real aim in coming might be, being unwilling to believe that Brother Grabsch's account concerning himself and his views was not fictitious, but suspecting him to be rich, a learned man, or a physician. A Tartar prince even very seriously told him that he had been informed that if a man's body was ripped up Brother Grabsch could heal and restore him in a short time. At length Uzmei-Chan seemed satisfied, and on the 11th of March took the Brethren in his retinue (which consisted of several Murses, or Tartar Princes) to his own residence at Baschlu; from whence on the very next day he sent them forward towards Kubascha. He likewise gave them a guide, whom he ordered to bring them to his friend Mahmud, who would lodge them and return them safely to him. Their road led over steep and narrow paths, with high mountains on one, and steep precipices on the other side, and they arrived safe at Kubascha on the same day.

Immediately on their entering the town, to their great sorrow their ears were assailed by the cry of the Mollas upon the minarets (or turrets of the mosques), calling the people to prayers: an undoubted proof that the inhabitants were Mahometans. Mahmud received them kindly, and showed them an apartment in the fifth story of his house.

Brother Grabsch immediately proceeded to make diligent inquiry concerning the origin, religion, language, and books of the inhabitants, visited every house, and left nothing undone, if possible to trace some memorial of the Christian religion having once prevailed at Kubascha. He discovered the ruins of three churches, and an inscription over the door of one of them, cut in stone, which neither he nor the inhabitants could decypher, except that in the middle of it, the number 1215, in the usual Arabic cyphers, had remained legible. Not far from this ruin stands a noble and stately church, built of hewn stone, and decorated with a profusion of architectural ornaments, but now converted into dwellings, and divided into five stories. Brother Grabsch was conducted to the top of this building, where several inscriptions in stone were pointed out to him; but he could not discover in them the least resemblance of any characters with which he was acquainted. The inhabitants have no more any books written in the characters formerly in use among them: they now make use of the Arabic both in writing the Turkish, Tartar, and their own language. They assert that above 325 years ago they became converts to the Mahometan religion; and indeed they now approve themselves very zealous supporters of it.

After much preliminary investigation Brother Grabsch now endeavoured more fully to obtain the aim of his journey, and to gain some more distinct information concerning the supposed origin of the inhabitants of this place, who were reported to be descendants of the ancient Bohemian Brethren, and to inquire whether they had still any Christian books among them, and whether any

of them had an inclination to adopt the Christian faith. In this view he had a conference with ten men, assembled for that purpose, and proposed to them various questions, which were answered by Mahmud, as their principal spokesman, as follows: "That their ancestors, indeed, had been Christians, but upwards of 300 years ago had adopted the religion of Mahomed, and now, they thanked God, that He had directed them into the right way to heaven; that they did not wish to hear any thing about the Christian faith, and could never acknowledge him as a brother till he turned Mussulman; and that they hoped his view in coming to Kubascha was not to reform them," &c.

Brother Grabsch, in reply, declared that it was not his intention and certainly not in his power to turn them from their way of thinking, if they believed themselves so certain of possessing the Truth: for the *Brethren* to whom he belonged only endeavoured to instruct such as were troubled in their consciences, and anxious to be restored to the favour of God; and to point out to them the only true and living way to heaven and happiness, through the merits of Jesus Christ.

Some of them seemed somewhat affected by this conversation, and expressed great regard for Brother Grabsch. At taking leave they all declared their friendship for him, and Mahmud himself assured him, that whenever he came to Kubascha he would always consider and treat him as his brother. "What," said Brother Grabsch, "though I do not turn Mussulman?" "O, all that goes for nothing," replied Mahmud.

Kubascha lies in a narrow and unfruitful vale, surrounded by three very steep and barren mountains. It consists of about 500 houses, which are mostly built upon the southern declivity of one of the mountains to the north of the valley, upon so steep a descent that they seem to stand upon each other, forming no regular streets. At some distance from the town there are large farms, where many thousand sheep are kept. The women are employed in weaving woollen cloths and stuffs; the men are chiefly armourers. The town is in a certain degree under the lordship of Uzmei-Chan, but governed by a council, in which four men have the chief rank. These elections are annual, so that in turn every housekeeper obtains a seat in the council.

March 17th the Brethren returned safe to Baschlu, with their host Mahmud's servant for their guide. Uzmei-Chan provided them on the same day with a guide to Derbent, where they were received and very hospitably entertained by an Armenian, to whom they brought a recommendatory letter from Kislar. Their intention was to proceed, early on the 19th, by way of Shamachie to Tiflis, for which they had obtained a passport from the Governor in absence of the Chan. But Haschi Bek, a man superior to the Chan in riches and influence, caused them to be arrested in passing the gate, and declared that he would not suffer them to depart till a certain quantity of silk was restored to him, which had been confiscated in the Russian territory. Brother Grabsch gave proper information of this act of violence to his friend at Kislar, and by the exertions of that good man the Brethren at length obtained leave to quit Derbent. Though under arrest, they were however permitted to walk about the town without molestation.

On the 21st they set off with a caravan of waggons drawn by oxen. As the waggoners as well as the inhabitants of the places through which they passed were all Mahometans, it often happened that even a drop of water to quench their thirst was refused them; nor were they ever allowed to drink out of any vessel, lest they should defile it.

Having on the 24th passed the river Samur, a very broad rapid stream, full of large stones, they took a road between the Caspian Sea and a ridge of mountains, covered with snow, in a south-east direction. The Lesgians were just then returning from a warlike expedition, and plundering the people wherever they came. To avoid an attack from these banditti, they were frequently obliged to make a troublesome circuit.

On the 3d of May, having quitted the sea, and turned to the south, they arrived at Bakue, where they found lodging with an Armenian. He procured for them a guide to Shamachia (or Shirvan in the Persian language), and they set out, on the morning following, across a hilly country, many of the hills being quite barren; and on the 7th they arrived at Shirvan, a town situated in a fruitful vale, where they were again hospitably entertained by an Armenian.

Here they obtained information, that at a village called Wartaschin, three days journey from Shirvan, there was a congregation of Christians, said to be descendants of a foreign people; and though the Chan, who was lord of the place, had endeavoured, by threats and punishments, to compel them to adopt the Mahometan religion, they had uniformly persisted in their attachment to the Christian faith. Much as they desired to visit these people, they could not find an opportunity of doing it. Brother Grabsch, however, saw a man from Waratschin, at Shirvan, who informed him, that the inhabitants of that place came originally from Grusinia, and were members partly of the Grusinian and partly of the Armenian church.

During his abode here, Brother Grabsch was frequently consulted as a physician, though he constantly protested against it. He found frequent opportunities to preach Jesus, both to Armenians and Persians, by whom he was heard with pleasure and attention.

The Brethren could not proceed till the 8th of June, when they set off, with a caravan of waggons drawn by oxen, for Tiflis. During the whole of this journey, they were in constant fear of being attacked by the Lesgians. From the 17th to the 26th, the caravan halted not far from the town of Kaenshee. Brother Grabsch wished to pay a visit to Prince Chey Kusru, lord of the place, who had lain ill four weeks at Sarepta, where he became well acquainted with the Brethren. Though the prince was not at home, Brother Grabsch was invited to lodge at his castle, a noble structure, built of marble. This city was the most handsome of any they had seen on their whole journey, and surrounded with beautiful orchards of European and Asiatic fruit-trees. Being much fatigued by the slowness of the caravan, and informed, on the 26th, that they might reach Tiflis in half a day, they ventured to walk thither, with an Armenian, who rode on horseback, but found the road much longer than they were led to expect, and very troublesome and hilly; the heat being excessive, and not a drop of water to be had. Towards noon, they met Prince Chey Kusru, who was returning from Tiflis to Kaenshee, accompanied by a guard of forty men. Brother Grabsch had some conversation with him, and saluted him from the Brethren at Sarepta.

About ten miles from Tiflis, the Armenian left them, and proceeded towards his own dwelling-place. It was quite dark before they reached the city, and where to find a night's lodging they knew not, as it was too late to make inquiry for those friends to whom they were recommended. Having walked six German (thirty English) miles without any food, in the heat of the day, they were extremely weary and faint. In this dilemma, a young boy met them near

the city gate, and began to converse with them. They told him, that they were Germans, and asked whether his parents were alive. He replied, that his father was a good man, and would receive them, if they would come home to his house; to which he led them. He lived at a considerable distance in the suburbs, and was a poor and aged man; but both he and his wife received the Brethren very kindly, and even seemed prepared to entertain them, declaring "that God himself had sent them these guests."

On the following day, Brother Grabsch went in search of an Armenian, to whom he was recommended. He had likewise a letter from the commandant of Kislar to Prince or Czar Heraclius, who was just then absent. However, both he and Brother Gruhl were, by order of Prince George, provided with a good lodging, and entertained at the Czar's expense. The commandant, Gabriel Pawlowitsch Galebof, and Prince Paul Andronikof, showed them also much friendship; and, in general, they were both treated with every mark of kindness and respect.

On the 30th, Brother Grabsch went, in company of the commandant, and by the Czar's order, to a park, about seven miles from Tiflis, where he and his retinue were encamped. A separate tent was put up for Brother Grabsch; and about two hours after his arrival, he was admitted to an audience, placed in a chair close by the Czar, and served with tea and coffee. The Czar bade him welcome, and conversed with him very cordially in the Turkish language.

He was under the necessity of remaining in the camp till the 6th of July, as the Czar expressed a wish to have some private conversation with him; which, however, was put off from time to time, on account of other business. Meanwhile, the Missionary experienced every kind attention; and the politeness of the Czar went even so far, that, when once three boxes of the choicest apricots were sent him as a present from Prince Chey Kusru, he immediately sent one of them to Brother Grabsch.

The commandant and Prince Andronikof frequently visited and conversed with him on the principles and constitution of the Brethren's Church, and expressed their wish, that the Brethren might form a settlement in Georgia.

July 6th, the Czar went to Tiflis, to use the warm baths, and requested Brother Grabsch to attend him. About midnight, he sent for him, and conversed with him, in presence of the above-mentioned noblemen. As his passport merely expressed his intention of going to Mount Caucasus in search of the descendants of the ancient Bohemian Brethren, and his wish to make Tiflis a resting-place for a short time, during which the Czar was requested to grant him his favour and protection, the Czar hinted, that probably he might have some secret commission from his Brethren to himself.

The two noblemen represented also the advantage which the Brethren would reap, by forming a settlement in the Czar's territory, and gave him to understand, that it was expected he should apply, in the name of his Brethren, for leave to settle.

Brother Grabsch replied, that his commission went no further than was expressed in the passport, but offered to convey, in the most punctual manner, any message the Czar might wish to convey to the Bishops and Elders, to whom the direction of the affairs of the Brethren's Unity was committed. Upon which, the Czar rose from his seat, and, stepping up to Brother

Grabsch, addressed him: "Fedor Twanitsch (thus he was called by the Russians), I am informed that the Brethren are an upright and intelligent people; and if I could get five, ten, an hundred, or a thousand of them, to settle in my country, I should give praise to God. That would indeed be a crown upon my head, even in hoary age."

He further declared, that he would himself write to the Bishops and Elders of the Brethren's Church, and asked the Missionary to give him his advice, promising likewise to grant them every privilege they could desire, and, in case they found their abode in his country unpleasant, to send them back at his own charge.

In a second audience, Brother Grabsch was questioned by the Czar concerning the said committee of Elders, and their residence; but Brother Grabsch was under the necessity of declining a proposal made by him, to send him and his companion home, by way of Constantinople, under a proper escort, that an answer might the sooner be obtained.

The Brethren remained at Tiflis above a month, and of course had an opportunity of becoming pretty well acquainted with the city and its environs. It lies in a valley wholly encircled by mountains; which in summer renders the heat almost insupportable. The river Kur flows through it. Its length, within the walls, is about a verst and a half, and its breadth one verst. The suburbs are surrounded by ramparts built of stone. They say that its population consists of 12,000 families. All the streets are crooked, and so narrow, that carriages could pass through but very few of them. The houses are of stone, with flat roofs of sods, and mostly only two stories high. There is no remarkable building in it, except the castle of the Czar. The greater half of the inhabitants are Armenians; of Mahometans, there are about one hundred families residing in the city. The Grusinians, who are the proper inhabitants of the country, and of the Greek religion, respect the Lutherans; but the Roman Catholics have become odious by their zeal in making proselytes. The city contains seven Armenian and five Grusinian churches, besides three mosques. There are likewise twelve beautiful and well-regulated public baths, and many orchards and vineyards, on the banks of the Kur. The most fertile part of the country is that nearest the mountains, near the territory of the Lesgians.

The Czar was then sixty-four years old, and wore a long black beard. He had a venerable and mild countenance, and was as much noted for his humanity as his military prowess. His mode of living was regular; he spent most of his time, either in transacting the business of the state, or in religious exercises, and devoted but a few hours to sleep. He had six sons and seven daughters: the behaviour of the former was very cordial and unreserved.

Brother Grabsch found here a desirable opportunity of writing, by a caravan, to the Brethren's Missionaries, then stationed at Grand Cairo. His landlord, a man of extensive knowledge both in the European and Asiatic languages, who had travelled through most of the western countries of Europe, informed him, to his surprise, that he had visited the Missionaries of the Brethren's Church both near Tranquebar and at Nancauwery, one of the Nicobar islands.

The Brethren had intended, if possible, to proceed from hence, across the mountains, to visit the Tschegemzes, a people living on the banks of the river Tschegem, but were persuaded to relinquish their plan, on account of the impracticability of the roads; being also informed, that they might sooner effect it by way of Mosdok. On account of the resemblance in sound

to the Bohemian name, Tschechis, a supposition prevailed, that these people might be the descendants of those who had emigrated into Asia. Brother Grabsch, however, had an opportunity, during his stay at Tiflis, to converse with some persons from the banks of the Tschegem, who spoke the Nogayan language, and assured him, that their forefathers were descendants of the Tartars in the neighbourhood of Astrachan, who had fled from the Russians into the mountains; and that the ruins of Christian churches in their country denoted its occupation by a very different race, at some former period. This account was also confirmed by other persons, who ascribed these traces of Christianity to those colonies of Genoese which were formerly established in this country.

Having received the above-mentioned letter from Czar Heraclius to the Bishops and Elders of the Brethren's Unity, witten in the Turkish language, the two Brethren left Tiflis on the 2d of August for Mosdok. The Czar gave them an escort, and provided every way for their safe passage. The Ossetes having, about that time, destroyed all the bridges over the river Terek, they were obliged to climb over the most steep and dangerous rocks. An Ossetian prince, Dudarukwa, who had taken them under his protection, gave them a safe conduct into his village, called Achmet, where they arrived on the 6th, and were received as his guests. But he demanded an exorbitant reward for his civility, in cotton goods; and as they were not able to pay it, he detained them many days. On the 12th, however, he permitted them to proceed. At Mosdok they were, by circumstances, obliged to abandon their plan of visiting the Tschegemzes, and returned to Sarepta by way of Kislar and Astrachan, where they arrived safe on the 16th of September.

Printed by Richard and Arthur Taylor, Shoe-Lane, London.

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